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ABSTRACT

A training manual was developed to acquaint teachers and administrators with the history and culture of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Wisconsin so that they can better meet the educational needs of their limited English proficient students. This manual is one of three such manuals intended for use with allied audiovisual materials. Historical attempts to meet the needs of bilingual students in Wisconsin and the United States are reviewed, and aspects of different types of educational programs for minority students in Wisconsin are outlined. Information is provided on such topics as the history of Hispanics in the Midwest, language use and attitudes, cultural identity, Mexican migration to Milwaukee, Mexican family structure and values, Puerto Rican migration, and educational needs of Puerto Rican students. Videotapes and suggested readings concerning aspects of Hispanic culture and approaches to teaching English to Hispanic students are listed. (RW)

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LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN: CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Part I: Hispanic Students
(Mexican and Puerto Rican)

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FOREWORD

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction in coordination with the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs--U.S. Department of Education has, in recent years, recognized the special needs of students of limited English proficiency. In addition, the Department has provided technical assistance to local schools, has developed curricular materials for the various language groups within the state and has promoted and approved bilingual teacher certification programs within the various institutions of higher education in the state.

However, despite these activities, one persistent need has not been met. What has been missing is knowledge about the cultural characteristics of the various linguistic minorities in the state along with some practical suggestions for acquiring and using cultural knowledge to help students with limited English proficiency achieve a higher degree of success within the public school system. To help meet these special needs a series of instructional programs have been developed consisting of a series of three training manuals and allied audiovisual materials.

The materials in these manuals were prepared with several purposes in mind. The first purpose is to acquaint teachers, administrators, and the general public with the history of attempts to meet the needs of limited English proficiency students in Wisconsin. A summary of present-day programs is also included. A second purpose is to present information on the cultural background of groups of limited English proficiency students who attend schools in Wisconsin. Within the general groupings of Hispanic, Indochinese, and Native American students, specific groups are discussed (Mexican/Puerto Rican; Hmong/Vietnamese; Menominee/Oneida) so as to highlight the particular cultural backgrounds and educational needs of students in these individual groups. Native speakers from these specific groups have drawn on their knowledge, insights, and experiential background to prepare this information. A third purpose of these materials is to provide videotaped lessons and a listing of supplementary readings. These items expand on the information presented here and direct teachers to other sources for developing curricular materials, for expanding instructional strategies, and for increasing their knowledge about the cultural background and educational needs of their limited English proficiency students.

I wish to thank all of those who have contributed to this undertaking. All of us in the Department who worked on this project are especially appreciative of the efforts of Professor Constance Knop who edited, authored and organized the material into a pedagogically useful training program.

The publications are dedicated to everyone who has worked to develop quality educational programs for linguistic minorities of varying cultural backgrounds in the public schools of our state.

Herbert J. Grover
State Superintendent

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I. HISTORICAL LANDMARKS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN WISCONSIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The Early Period 1830-1917

There is considerable historical evidence to show that the so-called "melting pot" approach of assimilating the various immigrant groups did not function as smoothly and automatically as many people have supposed. In fact, some of the ethnic groups which now are considered assimilated did have what would now be called bilingual/bicultural education programs. For example, in the 1830's, a form of bilingual education was conducted in Cincinnati which, in that time period, had a large majority of German-speaking citizens. Documents from the time show that first generation German settlers considered America's common schools inferior to those of the homeland. As a result, private, parochial German schools were established in order to provide a better quality of education based upon the German model and also to preserve the language, culture, and traditions for the next generation of German-Americans. In many places across the country, including Milwaukee and other German ethnic areas, such schools competed successfully with the public schools for many years. This was despite the fact that parents of such students had to pay tuition fees as well as school taxes.

In order to draw students away from these bilingual German-English schools, many states established competing schools in which instruction was carried on, both in German and in English. In 1840, Ohio even passed a law which would now be referred to as a state bilingual law. The Ohio Statutes actually provided tax monies to attract German children into the public schools and to permit German culture and language to be taught. It stated that it was "The duty of the Board of Trustees and visitors of common schools to provide a number of German schools under duly-qualified teachers for the instruction of the youths who desire to learn the German language or the German and English languages together." During that same year, the City of Cincinnati was mandated by law to introduce German instruction in the grade schools as an optional subject. This has been cited as the first bilingual education program in the United States.

Similar programs were set up across the country during the 1800's as more and more German immigrants moved into American cities. Among many others, the states of Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, and Wisconsin operated schools in which the German language and various subject matter were taught by means of both German and English.

World War I and the End of Bilingual Education

Before the entrance of the United States into World War I, not only did bilingual education flourish across the country, mostly within German-speaking communities, but also German was the main foreign language taught in the nation's high schools, a type of instruction, incidentally, that reached many students who were not of German ethnic

background. However, in 1917, an anti-German movement connected with World War I hysteria led to the virtual elimination of both the German bilingual movement in the schools and the teaching of German in the high schools. On the legal front, nearly half the states in the nation passed laws limiting German instruction to the upper grades of the public schools. At the time, this legislation was hardly necessary. Within a few years, German had gone from enrolling 25% of all high school students down to less than 1%. But the trend was established, and the anti-German movement in education broadened itself into a general anti-foreign sentiment. The resulting legislation ended up prohibiting the teaching of any languages other than English in all schools, public or non-public, to pupils below grades 8 and 9. However, a 1923 Supreme Court decision in the Meyer vs. Nebraska case declared such legislation to be unconstitutional. Had this decision gone the other way, subsequent bilingual legislation would have been impossible. Nevertheless, the anti-foreign language-foreign culture movement had its effects, and the result was the total elimination of bilingual education for almost a half century in American schools, and the downgrading of foreign language study from a virtual high school requirement to an elective mostly directed at middle class, college-bound young people.

Re-Emergence of Bilingual Education

Perhaps the first large-scale bilingual program in the second half of the 20th century was established in the Coral Way School, Dade County, Miami, Florida, in the fall of 1963. With funding from public and private foundations, this program successfully dealt with the language and cultural needs of Cuban refugees who had fled the Castro regime. Other bilingual programs were also established during the 1960's in New Mexico and Texas. Other states followed suit, and by 1967, twenty-one states had some kind of bilingual education program. Most of these were in Spanish, but a few were targeted toward French and Portuguese speaking children.

With the support of a number of concerned groups, including the American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Senator Yarborough of Texas introduced a bill in 1967 which put bilingual programs on an official basis. In fact, he chaired a special subcommittee on bilingual education, which held hearings during the spring and summer of 1967 in various parts of the country. With backing from President Lyndon Johnson, the Office of Education established the Unit on Mexican-American Affairs in 1967 to push for the passage of a bilingual law. During congressional debate, the proposed law was amended to include all non-English speaking children from different ethnic groups. The bill which emerged from congressional activity emphasized teacher training, development of materials, and pilot projects. The bill was signed into law in January, 1968, and became known as Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act of ESEA. After the passage of Title VII, Massachusetts became the first state, in December of 1971, to mandate bilingual education programs for non-English speaking students. Many other states, including Wisconsin, used the Massachusetts program as

a general model for requiring bilingual-bicultural programs, in communities with large numbers of limited English-speaking pupils. Wisconsin offered funding of 70% of the program cost for schools which were required to implement a bilingual program. Thus, Wisconsin was one of those states which both mandated a program and funded it. Some states provided funding but were "permissive" in their approach. That is, local districts had the option to offer a program. They received reimbursement if they did so. Other states passed laws but provided little or no state reimbursement to reward schools which operated a bilingual program.

Under the Carter Administration, attempts were made to put heavy pressure on school districts across the nation with large limited English-speaking populations to implement bilingual programs. The implication was that bilingual education was the only fully acceptable means of meeting the needs of limited English proficiency students. One of the first acts of Reagan's Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell, was to terminate such mandates from the Federal level. (However, it should be noted that states mandates are still in effect.) Other problems which are currently facing bilingual programs were summarized by Gerald Kanoon in his short history of bilingual education in the United States. As he expressed it:

> The obstacles to success are indeed formidable. Perhaps the greatest of these is the doubt in many communities that the maintenance of non-English languages is desirable. It has not yet been demonstrated that a Latino child can become literate in English best by first learning or becoming literate in Spanish. To resolve this doubt in the public mind we shall need to mobilize all available resources behind a few really convincing demonstrations.
>
> Still another massive obstacle is the education of bilingual teachers. Teacher-preparation institutions are only beginning to become aware that new and better programs are urgently needed to educate qualified teachers in the numbers required.
>
> The achievement of truly exemplary bilingual programs will not be easy. As we have seen, many communities are by no means convinced of the desirability of linguistic pluralism. Even those that are, are handicapped by the lack of adequately qualified teachers and other personnel, by the shortage of adequate materials, by inadequate evaluation methods and instruments, and by a lack of collaboration between school and community. Most important of all is the gathering of social data in the planning of such programs.
>
> Finally, to predict that a bilingual education program in the United States will succeed would depend on its quality of teacher training and commitment to its philosophy. For it is a source of pride, a focus of initial

loyalties and integrations from which broader loyalties and wider integrations can proceed. If the proponents of this program fail to achieve a newer and higher level of workmanship, we may expect this exciting trend in our schools to lanquish and fade away as have so many other hopeful educational ideas in the past.

Meyer v. Nebraska
Supreme Court of the United States, 1923

In a majority decision written by Justice James C. McReynolds, the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1923, set aside the conviction of a teacher in a private school who had violated a Nebraska law against teaching a foreign language in the elementary grades. The law violated by teacher Meyer had been enacted in 1919. It was similar to those passed by many states as a part of the campaign to Americanize "foreigners" which took place in connection with the anti-German movement during and after World War I. It prohibited the teaching of a foreign language in the first eight grades of any public or private school and also forbade the teaching of any subject by means of a language other than English. In the case in question Meyer had been teaching German to a pupil in an elementary Lutheran school in Hamilton County during May of 1920. In order to convey a feeling for the mood of this particular time period a major portion of the Nebraska State Supreme Court ruling is given here:

Meyer v. Nebraska
Supreme Court of Nebraska, 1922

Plaintiff in error (Meyer) was tried and convicted in the District Court for Hamilton County, Nebraska, under an information which charged that on May 25, 1920, while an instructor in Zion Parochial School, he unlawfully taught the subject of reading the German language to Raymond Parpart, a child of ten years, who had not attained and successfully passed the eighth grade. The information is based upon "An act relating to the teaching of foreign languages in the State of Nebraska":

No person, individually or as a teacher, shall in any private, denominational, parochial or public school, teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language.

Languages other than the English language, may be taught as languages only after a pupil shall have attained and successfully passed the eighth grade as evidenced by a certificate of graduation issued by the county superintendent of the county in which the child resides.

Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction, shall be subject to a fine of not less than

twenty-five ($25), nor more than one hundred dollars ($100) or be confined in the county jail for any period not exceeding thirty days for each offense.

...The salutory purpose of the statute is clear. The legislature had seen the baneful effects of permitting foreigners who had taken residence in this country, to rear and educate their children in the language of their native land. The result of that condition was found to be inimical to our own safety. To allow the children of foreigners, who had emigrated here, to be taught from early childhood the language of the country of their parents was to rear them with that language as their mother tongue. It was to educate them so that they must always think in that language, and, as a consequence, naturally inculcate in them the ideas and sentiments foreign to the best interests of this country. The statute, therefore, was intended not only to require that the education of all children be conducted in the English language, but that they should not in the schools be taught any other language. The obvious purpose of this statute was that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state. The enactment of such a statute comes reasonably within the police power of the state...

When the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States it was looked at from the standpoint of the Fourteenth Amendment's restrictions on the rights of states to deprive persons of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. "Mere knowledge of the German language," wrote Justice McReynolds in the majority decision, "cannot reasonably be regarded as harmful. Heretofore, it has been commonly looked upon as helpful and desirable." Thus, the majority of the court ruled that Meyer had a right to teach and that he must not be deprived of that right even though it might be advantageous to promote the use of a common tongue. However, it was stated that "this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution --a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means." Justice McReynolds also stated that, "It is well known that proficiency in a foreign language seldom comes to one not instructed at an early age, and experience shows that this is not injurious to the health, morals or understanding of the ordinary child." Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court took issue with the Nebraska Courts' claim that there are "baneful effects in permitting foreigners...to rear and educate children in the language of their native country."

Lau v. Nichols Ruling

The Supreme Court ruling Meyer v. Nebraska constitutes what may be one of the first legal decisions in the United States regarding bilingual education. Clearly, the attitude regarding bilingual education has changed drastically since 1923. An excellent example is provided in the case of Lau v. Nichols. This case is considered a "landmark" ruling as it set a precedent for future legal questions on bilingual education.

Briefly, Lau v. Nichols was a class suit which charged the San Francisco Unified School District with failure to provide all non-English speaking students (in this case, 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry) with special instruction to equalize their educational opportunity. The plaintiffs contended that their rights had been abridged under the U.S. Constitution, the California Constitution, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and provisions of the California Education Code. After being denied relief at lower court levels, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. In January, 1974, the Court ruled that there had been a denial of equal educational opportunity under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Court chose not to rule on whether there had been a violation of Constitutional rights. The case was remanded to the U.S. district court for the fashioning of an appropriate remedy for the discrimination. The school district has been working with a citizen's task force to develop the remedy. The Lau remedy set the example for other districts contemplating their responsibilities to provide equal educational opportunities for language minority students.

In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court relied solely on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on grounds of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. The Court ruled that the San Francisco schools had violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and could not argue the lack of discrimination because the Chinese students were provided with the same educational treatment as other students. The Court said: "Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education." The Court went on to rule that "the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students."

This landmark decision of the Supreme Court was also important in that it upheld the authority of the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue rules, regulations, orders, and interpretations regarding educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability. The Office of Civil Rights Memorandum of May 25, 1970, requiring federally funded school districts "to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students," was specifically referred to by the Supreme Court.

Federal Policy on Bilingual Education: Title VII of ESEA

The 1968 Bilingual Education Act or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, as amended, provided supplemental funding for school districts interested in establishing programs to meet the "special educational needs" of large numbers of children of limited English speaking ability (LESA) in the United States. The children initially served under Title VII also had to be

from low-income families. Funding was provided for planning and developing bilingual programs, preservice training, and for operation of programs, including bilingual education, early childhood education, adult education, dropout programs, vocational programs, and courses dealing with the history and culture of the language minority group being served.

Between 1969 and 1981, hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended under Title VII, most of which have gone for support of bilingual programs in elementary schools. Of this amount, 12% was utilized in special bilingual education projects, including bilingual children's television, curriculum centers, and dissemination centers.

Revision of Title VII

The Bilingual Act of 1974, which superseded the 1968 Act, was more explicit in intent and design. Children no longer had to be from low income families, a criterion that had previously prevented Title VII from meeting the needs of large numbers of language minority children. For the first time, the Federal government provided a definition of what constitutes a bilingual education program. Furthermore, support was provided for bilingual programs, supplemental community activities, training programs, fellowships, planning for programs, and technical assistance. Indian language programs were also permitted under the Act. Further, the designation "Limited English Speaking" was changed to "Limited English Proficiency" or "LEP." Other new features included a requirement that the Commissioner of Education and the National Advisory Council for Bilingual Education (set up under Title VII) report to Congress on the state of bilingual education in the Nation. Under the new legislation, a separate provision authorized an appropriation of $40.25 million over a five year period under which state education agencies are eligible to receive training grants, along with local school districts and institutions of higher education. At this writing, the Reagan administration has proposed cutbacks in Title VII with complete phase out of all programs by 1983.

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 declared Congressional policy to be (1) that all children enrolled in public schools are entitled to equal educational opportunity regardless of race, color, sex, or national origin and (2) that public school assignments should be based on the neighborhood in which children reside. Aside from raising formidable obstacles against the use of transportation to achieve desegration (i.e., busing), the Act provided a list of six acts that the Congress defined as constituting a denial of equal educational opportunity. Among them is: "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional program." The Act provided for the initiation of civil action by individuals who have

been denied equal educational opportunity and thus gave a direct statutory right of action to language minority persons seeking to vindicate their rights to equal educational opportunity through the institution of effective language programs in the public schools.

In addition, on May 25, 1970, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued a memorandum in which the agency stipulated that school districts with more than 5% national origin minority group children have an obligation under Title VII to equalize educational opportunity for language minority students. Seventy-two districts, or 4% of all districts with 5% or more language minority children, have been reviewed by the agency's Office of Civil Rights to determine their compliance with provisions of the memorandum. These school district review cases include the El Paso Independent School District and the Socorro Independent School District, both in Texas. However, the strongest official federal position thus far on what constitutes compliance with the May 25 Memorandum is the Lau v. Nichols case discussed earlier. In the late 1970's, a number of Wisconsin school districts with large LEP populations were declared to be in non-compliance with the Equal Educational Opportunity Act for having failed to take appropriate actions on LEP pupil needs.

State of Wisconsin Policy on Bilingual Education: Chapter 115, Subchapter VII

In 1975, the State of Wisconsin enacted a mandatory bilingual education law. This law established a program for the bilingual-bicultural education of pupils whose English language usage is limited because of the existence of another language in their background. A school district must establish a program if in a given school there are ten or more bilingual pupils in the kindergarten to 3rd grade; 20 or more such pupils in the 4th - 8th grade; or 20 or more in the 9th - 12th grade. The classes must be taught by bilingual teachers. The Department of Public Instruction is required to recommend ratios of bilingual students to bilingual teachers and counselors in secondary schools. School districts are authorized to provide these services by contracting with other school districts or with a cooperative educational service agency.

The University of Wisconsin System Board of Regents is authorized to establish and operate in cooperation with DPI a training and certification program for bilingual-bicultural teachers and counselors.

The state reimburses any school district granting such programs an amount up to 70% of the actual cost of personnel, books and equipment.

The state bilingual law directs the Department of Public Instruction to determine the number of pupils in each school district who have the same primary language other than English and whose lack of ability to use the English language hinders their progress in regular classroom work. If the "triggering" numbers are present at any grade level, the Department then must direct school districts to employ teachers and other personnel who are bilingual.

Local school districts receiving funds are required to submit a plan of service indicating the number of pupils having a primary language other than English and the number of bilingual teachers and other personnel employed in the district.

The Department of Public Instruction (DPI) serves as the state agency responsible for coordinating bilingual education programs in Wisconsin. DPI staff with training in Second Language Education and Bilingual Education are responsible for this kind of activity as are employees in the DPI Office of Equal Education Opportunity. The DPI's personnel in this area serve basically as consultants, providing technical assistance to school districts wishing to implement bilingual education programs and helping universities to set up teacher certification programs. Equal Educational Opportunity staff members focus on criteria and enforcement questions - for example, involving the Civil Rights Act, Emergency School Aid Act, etc.

The State of Wisconsin's role in the administration of bilingual education programs varies according to the title and act under which a school district or educational agency has applied for funds. For example, the DPI is the administration and allocation vehicle for district funding requests under the state Bilingual Program. However, if the request is made under Title VII ESEA or under Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act, funding would be in the form of a direct federal grant to school districts. On the other hand, refugee assistance grants are made to DPI with money "flowing through" to LEA's as subgrantees.

One of the major problems that Wisconsin is confronted with in attempting to secure federal funding for bilingual education programs is its relatively small populations of Spanish-speaking students and other LEP groups such as the Indochinese. This Wisconsin percentage is relatively low in comparison with states such as California, New York, and Texas that have very high populations of LEP students. Hence, Wisconsin finds itself in fierce competition with other states when it applies for bilingual funds.

The Success and Failure of Bilingual Programs

One highly publicized study of the success of bilingual education reached the remarkable conclusion that results of bilingual education were "inconclusive." This statement was apparently based on the fact that while some bilingual programs were highly successful others were a failure and others made very little apparent difference during the evaluation period. So, this "averaged out" as "inconclusive." This is roughly equivalent to saying that cancer treatment results are inconclusive because, while some patients recover completely, others die and still others have their lives prolonged. A medical researcher who were to report the cumulative data on cancer treatment as being therefore inconclusive would probably be laughed out of the profession. Educators are, apparently, more tolerant of sweeping generalizations.

The fact is that certain kinds of bilingual programs consistently show success according to rather clearly defined achievement criteria while other programs of a different design show consistent lack of success. It would appear to be more productive to look at the patterns of success and failure rather than to attempt to generalize about something as multi-faceted as bilingual education. A great deal of research has been conducted over the past half century. An analysis of the findings shows that certain patterns are emerging. As one of the chief international researchers on bilingualism expressed it, "...enough data are available to tentatively conclude that, under specified conditions, being bilingual can have tremendous advantages not only in terms of language competencies but also in terms of cognitive and social development. The limiting conditions are that the two (or more) languages involved in the bilingualism have enough social value and worth that both can be permitted to flourish as languages of thought and expression." (Lambert, 1981, p. 2) Another researcher has noted that if both languages in a bilingual program are given the opportunity to meet and pass some minimum threshold level competence, then one can realize the benefits of being bilingual. (Cummins, 1978) In less technical language, what this means is that the "developmental" or "additive" types of bilingual programs are always effective, apparently because both languages are highly regarded by the school system, the teachers, and the community. An example of this is the so-called immersion school concept in which children, whose native language is English learn basic subject matter exclusively in a foreign language from kindergarten through the upper elementary grades. In this case, the home language retained its high status and the language to be added was viewed in terms of academic prestige. In Canada, for example, students of mono-lingual English speaking background were sent to schools in which the teachers spoke only French, and used textbooks and materials which were exclusively in French. In a carefully designed longitudinal study, the students in this school were compared to students who were mono-lingual both in French and English. The researcher commented as follows:

> To our surprise, our bilingual youngsters in Montreal scored significantly higher than carefully matched mono-linguals on both verbal and non-verbal measures of intelligence; they were further advanced in school grade that the mono-linguals, and they performed as well or better on various tests of competence in French (the language of schooling) than did the mono-lingual controls at the same time as they out performed the controls by far on all tests of competence in English. Furthermore, their pattern of test results indicated that they, relative to mono-linguals, had developed a more diversified structure of intelligence and more flexibility and thought, those very features of cognition that very likely determine the depth and breadth of language competence.

What is so startling about these findings is that reading and writing were first taught to the children in a foreign language. In every instance, the ability to read and write English transferred easily when written material in the native language was introduced. In fact, with regard to reading skill, the bilingual students soon out performed those who had

been taught to read and write mono-lingually. The first research on immersion schools was done in the early 1960s. Since then similar schools have been set up and research has been conducted all over the world involving different pairs of languages and all social economic groups including black children from urban areas. The results are always the same; children in this kind of bilingual program end up out performing mono-lingual controls not only in reading and writing, but also in the acquisition of science, mathematics, and other academic subjects. Confirmations can be found from carefully conducted research in such varied parts of the world as Singapore (Torrance et al., 1970), Switzerland (Balken, 1970), South Africa (Ianco-Worrall, 1972,), Israel and New York (Ben-Zeev, 1972), Western Canada (Cummins and Gulustan, 1973), Montreal (Scott, 1973).

Lambert's Summary of the Impact of Bilingualism on Thought and Language

On April 3, 1981, the internationally-known linguistic researcher, Wallace E. Lambert, delivered a paper at UW-Stevens Point at the Conference on Basic Skills Across the Curriculum. His topic was "Thinking and Learning with one Language or More." As part of his presentation he summarized international research findings on the effects of "additive" types of bilingual programs. His review of the research in this area is given below.

> All of these studies indicate that bilingual young people, relative to monolingual controls, show definite cognitive and linguistic advantages as these are reflected in measures of "cognitive flexibility," "creativity," divergent thought," or "problem solving." Ben-Zeev's study (1972), for example, involved Hebrew-English bilingual children in New York and Israel and her results strongly support the conclusion that bilinguals have greater "cognitive flexibility" in the sense that her bilinguals had greater skill at auditory reorganization of verbal materials, a much more "flexible manipulation of the linguistic code," and more sophistication in "concrete operational thinking," as these were measured in her investigation. Ianco-Worrall's study (1972) involved Afrikaans-English bilingual children in Pretoria, South Africa, and it lends equally strong support for a somewhat different form of cognitive flexibility, an advantage bilinguals show over monolingual controls in separating word meaning from word sound; her bilinguals were some two years more advanced in this feature of cognitive development, one that Leopold (1949) felt to be so characteristic of the "liberated thought" of bilinguals. Worrall also found a bilingual precocity in the realization of the arbitrariness of assignments of names to referents, a feature of thinking that Vigotsky (1962) believed was a reflection of insight and sophistication. The study by Scott (1973) of French-English bilinguals in Montreal is important because it involved a comparison of two groups of young children one of which had been given the opportunity to become

bilingual over a period of years while the second group of comparable youngsters had not been given this opportunity. Scott worked with data collected over a seven-year period from two groups of English-Canadian children, one which had become functionally bilingual in French during the time period through "immersion schooling" in French, while the second group had followed a conventional English-language education program. Scott focused on the possible effects that becoming bilingual might have on "divergent thinking," a special type of cognitive flexibility (see Guilford, 1950, 1956). Measures of divergent thinking provide the subject with a starting point for thought --"think of a paper clip"--and ask the subject to generate a whole series of permissible solutions--"tell me all the things one could do with it." Some researchers have considered divergent thinking as an index of creativity (e.g., Getzels and Jackson, 1962), or at least an index of a rich imagination and an ability to scan rapidly a host of possible solutions. The results, based on a multivariate analysis, showed that the functionally bilingual youngsters were, at grades 5 and 6, substantially higher scorers than the monolinguals with whom they had been equated for IQ and social class background at the first-grade level. Although the numbers of children in each group are small, this study supports the causal link between bilingualism and flexibility, with bilingualism apparently the factor that enhanced flexibility.

There is, then, an impressive array of evidence accumulating that argues plainly against the common sense notion that becoming bilingual--having two linguistic systems within one's brain--naturally divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces his efficiency of thought and/or language. Instead, one can now put forth a very strong argument that there are definite cognitive and language advantages to being bilingual. Only further research will tell us how this advantage, assuming it is a reliable phenomenon, actually works. Perhaps it is a matter of bilinguals being better able to store information; perhaps it is the greater separation of linguistic symbols from their referents or the ability to separate word meaning from word sound; perhaps it is the contrasts of linguistic systems that bilinguals continually make that aids them in the development of general conceptual thought, or whatever. My own working hypothesis is that bilingualism provides a person with a comparative, three-dimensional insight into language, a type of stereolinguistic optic on communication that the monolingual rarely experiences. Bilingualism also helps protect a person against "reification," the human tendency to attribute thing qualities to all non-things that happen to have names (like soul, spirit, kindness, etc.). The protection comes in the form of the bilingual person's better realization that names are essentially arbitrary assignments. This realization along with the distance bilinguals can keep between names and referents makes them better able to play with words and their meanings,

in other words to be creative. Whatever the ultimate explanation, this new trend in research should give second thoughts to those who have used the bilingual deficit notion as an argument for melting down ethnic groups. Hopefully, too, it will provide a new perspective for members of ethnolinguistic groups who may have been led to believe that bilingualism in nothing but a handicap.

Additive versus Subtractive Forms of Bilingualism

One feature of the studies just reviewed merits special attention. In each of the settings referred to (Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, Israel, New York, Montreal) we are dealing with bilinguals for whom the two languages involved have social value and respect. Knowing Afrikaans and English in South Africa, Hebrew and English in New York and Israel, or French as well as English in Montreal, would in each case be adding a second, socially relevant language to one's repertory of skills. In none of these settings would the learning of the second language necessarily portend the slow replacement of the first or "home" language, as would be the case for most linguistic minority groups in North America who are pressured to develop high-level skills in English at the expense of their home languages. We refer to the former instances as examples of "additive" bilingualism and we draw a sharp contrast with the "subtractive" form of bilingualism experienced by ethnolinguistic minority groups, who, because of national educational policies and/or social pressures of various sorts, feel forced to put aside or subtract out their ethnic languages for a more necessary and prestigious national language (Lambert, 1974). In the subtractive case, one's degree of bilinguality at any point in time would likely reflect a state in the disuse of the ethnic home language and its associated cultural accompaniments and its replacement with another more "necessary" language. This form of bilingualism can be devastating because it usually places youngsters in a psycholinguistic limbo where neither language is useful as a tool of thought and expression, a type of "semi-lingualism," as Skutnegg-Kangas & Toukomaa (1976) put it.

Factors Causing Failure in Bilingual Programs

It appears that programs which either implicitly or explicitly downplay the language background or culture of the student regularly show poor results. Small children who are made to feel that the language of the dominant culture is somehow superior to the one they grew up with tend to do poorly in school both in the home language and the school language. Such programs are "subtractive" in that the students are made to feel that, in order to gain the second language, they are compelled to give up their first language and the culture to which it relates. By contrast immersion schools and developmental bilingual programs carry to students the conviction that they are gaining a new way of communicating and a new

cultural outlook on the world. Thus, it appears that the term "bilingual education" covers everything from prestige immersion schooling to minimal-effort transitional programs in which the student is actively discouraged from using the home language. Thus, much remains to be done in the area of clarifying what bilingual education is and should be. In this regard the following summary by Troike seems appropriate:

> Until we have better information on what conditions promote or retard achievement ... the general rubric "bilingual program" will not prove very helpful in efforts to determine why bilingual education has succeeded in some circumstances more than in others.
>
> A recent study by two Finnish researchers on the achievement of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden may have revolutionary significance for the education of linguistic minorities. In a study for the Finnish UNESCO Commission, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976, 1977) found that if children immigrated to Sweden when they were of pre-school or primary-level age, they fell within the lower 10 percent of Swedish children in Swedish language skills. However, if they were 10 to 12 years of age when they immigrated, and had had five to six years of education in their native language in Finland, they were much more likely to approach the norms of Swedish students when both were tested in Swedish. In particular, achievement in math, chemistry, and physics correlated highly with Finnish language skills. Similar anecdotal observations have been made of children who immigrated to the United States from Mexico after grade six. It is a common experience that such students rather quickly acquire English and soon out-perform Chicano students who have been in United States schools since grade one.
>
> The Finnish researchers present powerful evidence to suggest that if children are submersed in instruction in another language before the age of ten, it exerts a destabilizing effect on the development of their native language as a tool for cognitive organization, and they may fail to acquire the ability to use the second language for such purposes, with the result that they become semilingual, i.e., not fully competent to carry out complex cognitive operations in either language.
>
> These findings, which indicate that the best educational solution might be to provide schooling entirely in the student's native language for the first five grades, appear, at least superficially, to contradict the well-known results of experiments in immersion programs for English speakers in Canada and the United States (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Cohen et al., 1975). In such programs, it has been demonstrated that students continue to achieve at grade level in English even though they have received no instruction in it. How can this contradiction be explained?

The most probable explanation derives from the fact that both the Finnish and Chicano children belong to dominated minorities. Such students, in beginning their education in a second language, are subjected to various forms of discrimination and disvaluation of their language and culture during a critical developmental period, while students who have escaped this experience quickly overcome the language barrier and function successfully in their second language. The difference then, may be ascribed to what Lambert has called subtractive vs. additive bilingualism.

But at an even more fundamental level, the issue may not be one of language at all, but rather the relative social and cultural status of groups in the community. It is significant that the children who succeed so notably in immersion programs are for the most part middle-class children from supportive homes whose language and culture are in no way threatened or demeaned by their being taught in another language. In the Finnish research, on the other hand, it has been shown that children's competence in their native language declines sharply when they begin school in a second language. It is this latter situation that characterizes most linguistic minority groups in this country.

These considerations would suggest that the success of bilingual education in providing equal educational opportunity for subordinated minorities may rest on matters far deeper and more fundamental than the merely linguistic. That this is not simply a question of providing a "warm, accepting environment," however, or attempting to enhance the student's self-concept, is shown by the fact that programs that do both may still fail to produce any improvement in achievement. The whole issue, as with many others, is one that can be resolved only by much more basic--not just operational--research than we have at present.

Frank Grittner
September, 1981

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II. DISCUSSION OUTLINE ON VARIOUS TYPES OF PROGRAMS FOR MEETING THE NEEDS OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN

A. Bilingual/Bicultural Education

1. Staff

a) There is a certified bilingual teacher who is from the target culture or who has lived in the target culture and who is fluent and literate in the language (both English and the home language).

b) There is usually an aide or liaison person who is a native speaker and knows English; the educational background is at least equivalent to a high school education.

c) There are often tutorial assistants (peers, ESL specialists, volunteer tutors, etc.) to work with individuals or small groups.

d) Bilingual/bicultural guidance counselors are included in larger programs.

2. Program Characteristics

a) Instruction in basic subjects is conducted in two languages.

b) Students learn to read and write in English and in the native language.

c) Students have access to the bilingual/bicultural program until they can function exclusively in English in the school program.

d) There may be a Developmental Option (locally funded only). Developmental courses are in the student's home language. Examples:

1) Spanish for Spanish speakers,

2) Vietnamese literature,

3) Hmong folktales,

4) Puerto Rican history,

5) Spanish typing and stenography.

(e) There may be a program aimed at retrieval and maintenance of the home language and culture (Indian groups primarily are involved in such programs).

1) The non-English language is taught like a foreign language.

2) The customs and history of the group are part of the curriculum.

3) Pride in one's heritage is emphasized throughout in order to help pupils build a better self-concept.

3. Materials

a) There are parallel textbooks in both languages which reflect the local curriculum. Examples:

1) Dual math books,

2) Readers in both languages,

3) Science texts and materials in both languages,

4) History texts in both languages.

b) Dual-language audiovisual materials are also available.

4. Goals (Depending on program type)

a) Developmental or "maintenance" bilingual programs are designed to produce literate, fluent bilingual citizens who can function well in American society or in the society of the home language.

b) Transitional bilingual programs are designed to bridge the student's progress into the English-speaking school system so that he or she can function successfully in the school program exclusively in English. (No effort is made to preserve the home language.) Examples:

1) No Spanish for Spanish speakers,

2) No history or cultural courses about the home country taught in the foreign language. (However, American history would possibly be taught in either language.)

3) Teaching of the home language as a second or foreign language would not be included.

c) Retrieval programs are designed to revive the home language and culture, to develop an improved self-concept in pupils by giving a positive view of their language and culture, and develop a substantial supply of appropriate texts and materials.

5. Summary

a) The term developmental involves full dual language and cultural goals; producing literate bilinguals is the desired outcome.

b) The term transitional equals "phase out" of the non-English language from the school setting. The home language is used only in the interim period.

c) The terms ESL (English as a Second Language) or TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) call for learning through English only.

Transitional and ESL programs require:

1) Entrance criteria proving limited English proficiency (L.E.P.) and linking low school achievement to L.E.P.

2) Exit criteria showing that the student can function in English and no longer needs the support of the home language.

NOTE: State and federal programs are virtually all transitional in nature. However, local schools have sometimes opted for developmental components at local expense.

B. Legal Aspects -- Non-compliance

1. Federal Regulations

a) Lau-Nichols decision: There were 1,800 Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco. A Supreme Court decision was that it is not sufficient to teach L.E.P. children solely by means of English. In fact, to do so constitutes a violation of their civil rights. There must be a special program for L.E.P. children.

b) There was the Shirley Hufstedler ruling mandating bilingual education as the sole remedy. Terrel Bell threw this out as a federal regulation. Schools can use bilingual education, but such programs cannot be mandated from federal level. HOWEVER, many states -- including Wisconsin -- still mandate transitional bilingual programs if large L.E.P. concentrations exist.

2. State Program - Chapter 115, Subchapter VII, Wisconsin Statutes

a) Each year in March, schools must count the number of limited English speaking ability (LESA) students and submit the results to DPI.

b) A program is mandated if certain numbers of students are present at certain grade levels in a single school building. The school district must have a bilingual program if --

in grades K-3, there are 10 or more students of a given language background.

in grades 4-8, there are 20 or more students of the same language background.

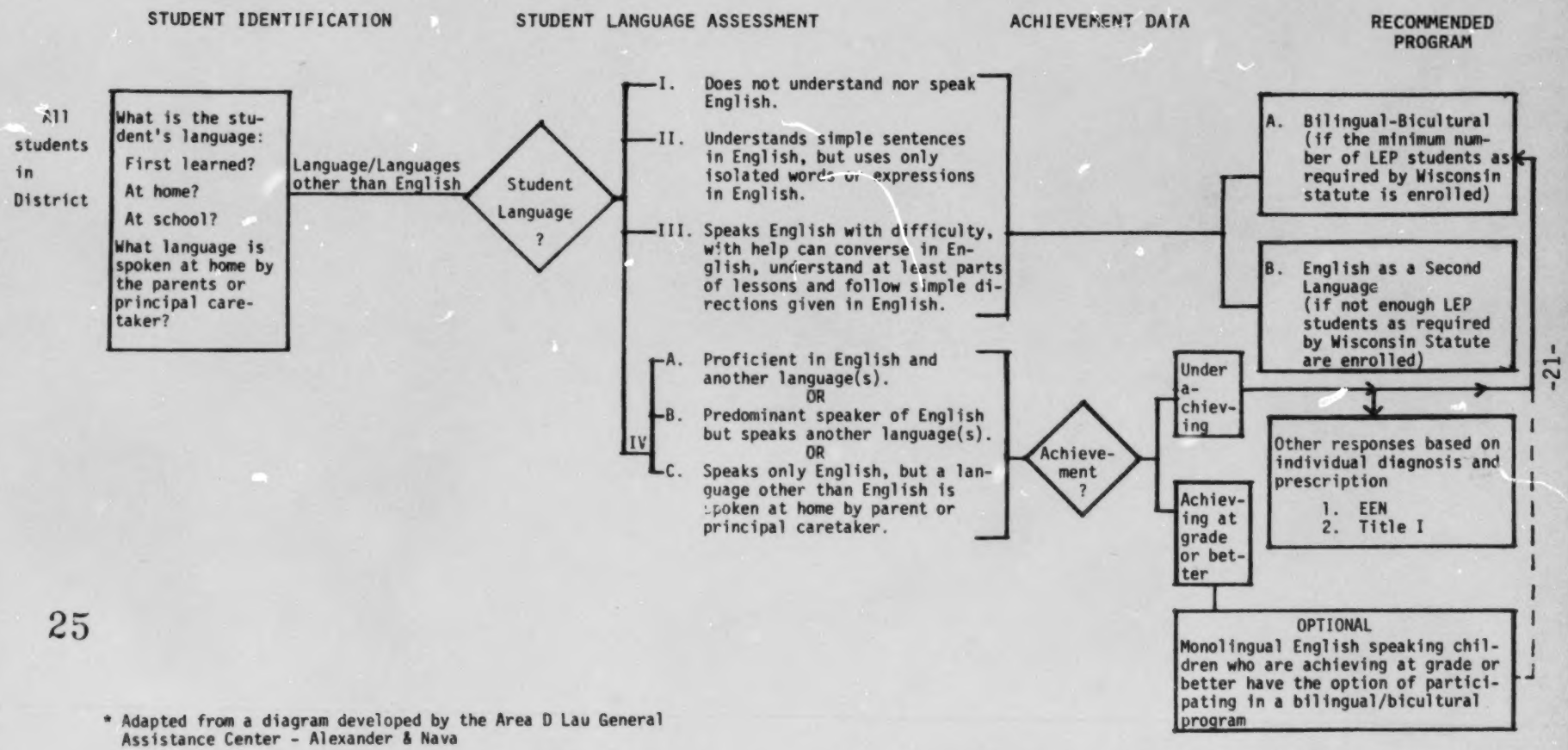
in grades 9-12, there are 20 or more students of the same language background.

c) For schools that qualify, up to 70 percent of the cost of the program is reimbursed by the state.

d) In order to qualify, the district must have certified bilingual teachers or special DPI approval.

Frank M. Grittner

IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS*


STUDENT IDENTIFICATION
STUDENT LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT
ACHIEVEMENT DATA
RECOMMENDED PROGRAM
All students in District
What is the student's language:
First learned?
At home?
At school?
What language is spoken at home by the parents or principal caretaker?
Language/Languages other than English
Student Language ?
I. Does not understand nor speak English.
II. Understands simple sentences in English, but uses only isolated words or expressions in English.
III. Speaks English with difficulty, with help can converse in English, understand at least parts of lessons and follow simple directions given in English.
IV
A. Proficient in English and another language(s).
OR
B. Predominant speaker of English but speaks another language(s).
OR
C. Speaks only English, but a language other than English is spoken at home by parent or principal caretaker.
Achievement ?
Under achieving
Achieving at grade or better
A. Bilingual-Bicultural (if the minimum number of LEP students as required by Wisconsin statute is enrolled)
B. English as a Second Language (if not enough LEP students as required by Wisconsin Statute are enrolled)
Other responses based on individual diagnosis and prescription
1. EEN
2. Title I
OPTIONAL
Monolingual English speaking children who are achieving at grade or better have the option of participating in a bilingual/bicultural program

* Adapted from a diagram developed by the Area D Lau General Assistance Center - Alexander & Nava

III. HISPANIC STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN: MEXICAN AND PUERTO RICAN

A. HISTORY OF HISPANICS IN THE MIDWEST

This section focuses on Hispanics in the Midwest - when they came and why, and host community characteristics. Since the Midwest situation involves both Mexican and Puerto Rican populations, a brief introduction to the migration of both groups is included. The emphasis is on Milwaukee, but there are similarities throughout urban areas in the Midwest.

Although Hispanics have lived in the Midwest since the 1850's, little has been written about their lives in this part of the country. While most Mexican-Americans reside in the five Southwestern states of California, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona, and most Puerto Ricans on the Mainland have settled on the East Coast in such states as New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, over a million Hispanics (Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and others) call Iowa, Nebraska, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, or Kansas home. Some came as migrant workers and stayed. Michigan, for example, is the third largest user of migrant agriculture laborers in the nation and has a large settled out migrant population.[1] Others were directly recruited from Mexico, Puerto Rico or Texas to work in the industrial centers of Detroit, Chicago, Bethlehem (Pennsylvania), Lorain (Ohio) and Milwaukee (Wisconsin).

The experiences of some of the Mexican people who moved from Texas to Northern industrial areas have been preserved in their folk songs. In one of these, "Corrido Pensilvanio,"[2] a Mexican man is forced to leave his sweetheart in Fort Worth, Texas in order to find work in the labor camp in Pennsylvania. The following few stanzas from that song tell of his journey from cotton fields to steel mills:

Corrido Pensilvanio	Corrido Pennsylvania
El 28 de Abril	On the 28th of April
A las seis de la mañana	At six o'clock in the morning
Salimos en un enganche	We set out under contract
Para el estado de Pensilvania.	For the state of Pennsylvania.
Mi chinita me decía	My little sweetheart said to me,
Yo me voy en esa agencia -	"I'm going into that Office -
Para lavarle su ropa	And say I'll wash your clothes
Para darle su asistencia.	And take care of you."
El enganchista me dijo,	The contractor said to me,
No lleves a tu familia	"Don't take your family
Para no pasar trabajo	Or you'll pass up this job
Es en el estado de West Virginia.	It's in the state of West Virginia.

Para que sepas que te quiero	"So you'll know that I love you,
Me dejas en Fort Worth	When you leave me in Fort Worth,
Y cuando ya estés trabajando	And you have started working,
Me escribes de donde estés.	Write me from where you are."
Adiós estado de Texas,	Goodbye, state of Texas,
Con tu vas tu plantación;	With you goes your plantation
Yo me voy para Pensilvania	I'm going to Pennsylvania
Por no piscar algodón.	But not for picking cotton.
Al llegar al steel mill worque	When we got to the steel works
Que vemos la locomotora	We saw the locomotive
¡Y salimos corriendo	And we came out running
Ochenta millas por hora!	At eighty miles an hour!
Cuando llegamos allá	When we arrived there
Y del tren no bajamos,	And got off the train,
Preguntan las Italianas,	The Italian girls asked us,
De dónde vienen, Mexicanos?	"Where do you come from, Mexicans?"
Responden los Mexicanos	The Mexicans reply,
Los que ya "inglear"	Those who know how "to English,"
Venimos en un enganche	"We came out under contract
Del pueblo de Fort Worth.	From the town of Fort Worth."

At first, companies recruited single males and they lived in labor camps or in rooming houses nearby. Soon men returned for their sweethearts or families, and little "Mexican towns" grew up near the factories and steel mills. Most of these were already inhabited by families with other ethnic and linguistic backgrounds - Italians or Greeks, Poles or Serbs. Most ethnic groups stayed with people of their own background. Sometimes, Hispanics used facilities nearby that were used by other groups, like the Southside Armory in Milwaukee, or church social halls. Dances were held, and a search began for a building to use for Mass. In Milwaukee, this was a storefront called the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe on the Southside of Milwaukee, established in 1929. Those who knew some English began to add to their vocabulary words such as "steel mill worque" and to play a "broker role" between the newcomers and the foremen in the factories. Over time, the factories promoted these bilingual workers to be supervisors. (A recent study of many local factories on the Southside indicated that over 64 bilingual supervisors work there.)

The Near South Side in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is an area that grew in ways similar to those near the steel mills in Pennsylvania. Here the Menominee Valley, a large industrial area, forms a natural barrier between the poor who came to the city in search of jobs in the tanneries, steel mills and manufacturing plants (these are still the heart of the city's growth and wealth) and the Northeast areas inhabited by those who had more money. Here Mexicans and Texans joined Poles and Serbs,

Greeks and Hungarians, Bohemians, Slovanians and others where unskilled work existed and housing was cheap. From the early days in the 1920's, through the repatriation efforts of the Depression, the population growth after World War II, and increased migration and recruitment of Puerto Ricans in the 1950's and 1970's, Milwaukee's Hispanic community has worked in these nearby factories. There children have attended the schools in this working class neighborhood. They have supported their families as best they could, and they have organized church groups and planned parades. In the 60's and 70's, they developed many social agencies and increasingly had the funds to buy local restaurants, taverns, and grocery stores to serve this community. Sometimes, as has been the case in other urban poor areas, they have had conflicts with the police. Some of their neighbors did not welcome them. Usually they have lived peacefully, though relationships with Anglos were distant and people remained with their own ethnic groups for most of their social interactions. As in other Midwestern cities, their language has survived, their churches have Mass said in Spanish, and they continue to help newcomers adjust, and to visit relatives in Mexico, Texas, Puerto Rico, or New York.

There are many commonalities in the experiences of Hispanics living in the urban barrios in the Midwest. While some of the smaller cities now have fairly dispersed Hispanic populations, most large cities have areas that are still quite concentrated. In Milwaukee, the Hispanic population is most concentrated nearest the industrial valley, where they make up a majority of the population in a few census tracts. Examination of 37 census tracts on the Southside according to the 1980 census reveals that Hispanics make up between 50 and 67 percent or more of the population in the four tracts nearest the Menominee Valley. The boundaries of this area are formed by Florida and Pierce on the North, First Street on the East, Lapham on the South, and 16th Street on the West. This area also has elementary schools with the highest Hispanic enrollment. In the 37 Southside census tracts examined, at least 13,370 reside, about half of the city's Hispanics. Hispanics are outnumbered by other ethnic groups in nearby census tracts, although their presence is recognized in those areas as well by their taverns, social agencies, groceries, and enrollment in schools. In 13 of these tracts, Hispanics make up between 10% and 35% of the local population. There are two other barrios in the city which are predominately Puerto Rican, although many Puerto Ricans also live on the Southside. Together, the three Hispanic areas are home to over 70% of the Hispanics in the city.

Other large cities in the Midwest also have their barrios. In nearby Chicago, with one of the largest concentrations of Mexican-Americans in the United States and the highest concentrations of Puerto Ricans outside New York, there is also an area identified as predominately Hispanic by most Chicagoans, the Pilsen area. There are, according to the 1980 census, 422,061 Hispanics in Chicago, a growth rate of over 78% in the last decade. In Detroit, as in Milwaukee, there was some dispersal of the population in the 1960's due to urban renewal

and the building of freeways, but the barrio has remained as a locus of most organizational activity, be it parades, church festivals or the site of agencies that help newcomers adjust, provide recreation, and keep younger community members aware of their history and in need of using Spanish.[3]

Hispanics in larger Midwestern cities have developed a complex organizational life which, while it includes active church related groups, has expanded beyond these, especially in recent history. In Milwaukee, as in Detroit, there is a heterogeneous population that includes those sufficiently bilingual (and well enough off) to provide services to newcomers and others who are poor, who are monolingual Spanish Speakers, and who need special services.[4] While there has been an expansion of recreational and social service agencies (an indication of growing organizational sophistication and the ability to gain financial support from non-Hispanic community), little political power is in the hands of the Hispanics. Other ethnic groups, whether it be the Poles, Germans, Irish or Italians, are more often in decision-making positions than are the Hispanics.

Another area of commonality in the Midwest is the concern of Hispanic communities about the low educational attainment of their children. Bilingual education has been the focus of many who hope to reform schools and make them adapt to the cultural and linguistic characteristics of their communities. State laws have been passed, and local districts have implemented programs. While the need for Spanish-speaking teachers and aides for newcomers has been widely recognized and legally required in the schools in the region, there is also a strong desire on the part of many families who speak Spanish at home but whose children are bilingual to have the schools use both Spanish and English to educate their children as well. Some of the problems associated with race desegregation have caused conflict between Hispanic and black leaders; but there has also been cooperation.

Midwestern Hispanic communities have to deal with similarities, differences, and rivalry among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Spanish-speaking groups, as well as with the reaction of non-Hispanics to their efforts at coalition building. Anglos sometimes misinterpret the dynamics involved. Bilingual education has often led to cooperative efforts. Sometimes cultural and linguistic differences are recognized and highlighted, and sometimes they are ignored. Compromises are made, though conflict also occurs.

The experiences of urban Midwestern Hispanics have not received the recognition and documentation that is needed. Most of the books and reports about the Spanish-speaking in the United States have focused on the Southwestern states. Our images of Hispanics are still biased by a tendency to treat them as a homogeneous group which is not true in the Midwest or the Southwest. We also highlight rural conditions although 85% of the Hispanic population lives in cities. Stereotypic

symbols continue to superficially characterize complex communities undergoing change. We rely on descriptions of values that have emerged from studies of Mexican villages. Midwestern urban communities present a challenge to these images. Studies of them will not only broaden our understanding of Hispanics in the U.S., but also enable us to learn about more persistence and change of culture and language in America.

--Judith T. Guskin

FOOTNOTES

1. Gilbert Cardenas, "Mexican Migration to the Midwest," in Stanley A.West and June Macklin, The Chicago Experience, Boulder: Westview Press, 1979, pp. 33-63.

2. Paul Schuster Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Berkeley: University of California Press, Publications in Economics, vol, 7, no. 1, 1931 as reported by Stanley A. West, "Cinco Chacuacos: Coke Ovens and a Mexican Village in Pennsylvania," in West and Macklin, op. cit., pp. 63-82.

3. For an analysis of Detroit and an Ohio community in terms of organizational life see John R. Weeks and Joseph Spielberg Benitez, "The Cultural Demography of Midwestern Chicano Communities," in West and Macklin, op. cit., pp. 229-251.

4. Weeks and Benitez, op. cit., p. 244.

For a recent brief article about the history of Mexican-Americans in The Southwest written by four Chicano scholars see L.F. Estrada, F.C. García, R.F. Macías, and L. Maldonado, "Chicanos in the United States: A History of Exploitation and Resistance," Daedalus, in a special issue on American Indians, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, 110 (2), Spring 1981, pp. 103-131.

B. LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

This section deals with language use by individuals and communities, and how people feel about language use. The examples come from interviews and observations in Milwaukee.

Bilingualism is complex because it involves a matter of degree, not an all or nothing situation. People have different levels of fluency in speaking and different abilities with regard to understanding, reading and writing. In addition to different levels of ability, people may use one language or another one depending on where they are (is it a public or a private place?), and with whom they are talking (is the listener partially bilingual, fully bilingual or only able to understand a little of the language?) as well as what they are talking about (is it about family, or about work?). How the people speaking and listening feel about each other, and their general attitudes towards the importance of speaking each language will also affect their language use. On top of all this, the ages, sex, and social roles of the people will be variables involved in triggering use.

The following examples taken from real events observed in Milwaukee will give an indication of this complexity:

1. A group of students in a bilingual class are helping each other. They are using both Spanish and English. Why is one girl switching so often from Spanish to English? There is a Spanish dominant newcomer from Puerto Rico sitting at the table across from the girl, while next to her is a girl who has just entered a bilingual class having come from New York City and, while she understands Spanish and speaks it at home, she has never before used it in a school situation. The girl in the middle is linking these two students together, helping the newcomer do the work, while at the same time helping the girl who is not so bilingual to be part of the conversation. When the task involves reading English, more English is used, but side conversations are in Spanish.

2. A group of children are talking in English in a park. While they use Spanish expressions to express anger or frustration with their game, most of their talk is in English. A mother comes by with a young child. They turn to talk to her in Spanish.

3. A group of professionals are discussing some new procedures. They begin in English. Soon they continue entirely in Spanish. The meeting is being held in the community and some of the people present are paraprofessionals who are most comfortable speaking in Spanish. The materials they are discussing are in English.

4. Teenagers are talking in English. Someone else joins the group. They switch to Spanish, because the person is a newcomer and is Spanish dominant.

5. Two adults are talking in Spanish. An Anglo comes by. They switch to English. The Anglo leaves, but other Anglos are present in the area. They continue to speak in Spanish.

6. Two children are fighting in the home. They are speaking mainly English. The grandmother comes in and tells them something in Spanish. They answer in Spanish.

Bilingualism in not only an individual phenomena, it is also a societal reality. The numbers of bilingual persons in a community, the degree of segregation of this population, the numbers of newcomers who speak primarily one language, the kind and quality of interactions with non-Hispanics, the availability of Spanish language radio, newspapers, and television, the demands placed on workers to speak English given the type of work and the numbers of Hispanics employed, and the degree to which bilingual services are available will also affect language use and language attitudes. If there are bilingual persons who have achieved middle class status and who remain connected to the community and use both languages, this will also be an important variable.

Milwaukee's Hispanic community is bilingual to a large extent. While younger people are using more English, the continual immigration of Spanish speakers, the high concentration of Hispanics in certain neighborhoods, the kind of work situations in factories, foundaries and tanneries, and the support network which provides help for monolingual Spanish persons are factors in this situation. Many of the adults in the community know little spoken English and do not read or write it. Hispanics born in the Midwest or Texas, tend to speak English more, but this will vary depending on the birthplace and/or language proficiency of their spouse and parents, and the degree to which other family members are bilingual. Children just entering school are likely to be more Spanish dominant than older children, except for older children who are newcomers.

In many homes, Spanish is used as the language of communication between parents, with grandparents, and with the younger children. Children usually use both languages with their friends.

Bilingualism is valued highly as being useful for many different functions besides the ability to communicate in the home. It is perceived of as an asset in employment, for recreation, for political participation, shopping, education, and, according to young people, for "a happy life."

While most Hispanics value the use of Spanish and English for many different functions, many Anglos do not feel this is appropriate. Even though Milwaukee as a community has fostered respect for ethnic diversity and has been proud of private and church efforts to maintain language and culture, there remains an ambivalence about the use of Spanish in public places. Many people feel that it is appropriate to keep language and culture at home, but it should not be used in the streets or in any situation in which Anglos are present. Speaking Spanish in public makes

Anglos worry that they are being discussed and they feel uncomfortable. This is especially true in neighborhoods in which there are large numbers of Spanish-speakers. Failure to use English is seen as being un-American. The following quotes indicate some of the feelings people expressed when interviewed.

Dave: I know they're both (Mexican and Puerto Rican) very clannish groups. I think they should try to adapt. They can keep their cultural heritage and that, but adapt to our way of life also. It's fine to stick to traditions, and that, but you got to live in the neighborhood, so why not speak the same language...when my great-grandmother came here, they had to learn different ways, so I think that Hispanics should learn different ways.

Gloria: In public, I think they should use English, but in their homes and so, let them use Spanish... they can keep it as long as there's a limit on it. For their personal selves and their own family, it they want to keep it and write it, or whatever they want to do, fine. I think they should join the rest of us as soon as they can... everything's put in English and Spanish and I don't believe in it...they're pampered. It's hard to deal with people like that because they don't understand you, and I'm not going to stand for an hour and try to explain something to somebody and they've been here for five years already.

Jim: .....speaking with shit, garbage, junk in their mouths...if they call you a name, you don't know what they're saying...this is a bad neighborhood. It's mixed up too much. You can't talk to most of the people...can't understand nobody around here...all the Spics...they ain't got no consideration for nobody...there's more around here than there ever was.....

Some people expressed positive attitudes. One family that was interviewed has foster children who are both Mexican and black. The mother was explicit about trying to overcome prejudices which she says she was taught by her parents. The following is a quote taken from her interview:

Ann: The nice part of all this, for my kids, is we're living in a Mexican neighborhood, we're a white family, and we take black foster kids. So they're learning every culture. They're not going to be like I was. They're going to know there are different people from different backgrounds, they don't have the same customs, they're not treated the same way.

This family said they are friends with their Mexican neighbors. They feel that the Mexican way of life should be maintained. While they know other people in the area "get mad" when they hear Spanish spoken on the street, they personally feel it is fine. Both languages should be spoken everywhere if people want to do so.

In order to implement bilingual education, language use should not be stigmatized. If it is, this will affect the feelings that bilingual students have about themselves and their families. It may impede positive relationships between children of different groups. In addition, it will further stigmatize the entire program and make it less desirable for non-Hispanics to participate.

It is hard to talk about relegating one language to private and one to public use in the case of Spanish-speaking bilingual communities because language use patterns reflect a changing situation. Bilingual people and bilingual communities in the U.S. are adapting to changes in migration patterns, to the increasing use of English among younger people, and to the revitalization of Spanish use among adults who have experienced some language loss but who have recently worked on improving their Spanish. Intermarriage between people who have different proficiencies in Spanish, whether they are Anglos or other Hispanics who have been brought up in another place, will affect the use of Spanish and English at home. The possibilities for employment in white collar and professional jobs for Hispanics has an impact on language use also. English becomes more functional if employment advancement is perceived as possible, and greater contact of a more equal status nature may occur with Anglos. Increasing numbers of women in the labor force may mean increasing use of English in the home, unless most employment situations remain menial or segregated. Improvement in educational opportunities improves English ability and, if students have been in bilingual programs, improves Spanish ability as well. Higher literacy rates in both languages could also change the patterns of language use, although data on this important issue has not been available.

The extensive mixing and switching of languages that is prevalent in many bilingual communities is an indication of a changing language situation. While there has been some research on the types of switching that is occuring, more is still needed, for there are many different kinds of switching. Not all switching indicates a loss of proficiency, although some does reflect change of this kind. Switching may express feelings about identity, or may be a factor due to the variation in proficiency that exists within the setting, be it a family, or a playground, or a work setting.

Attitudes regarding switching and mixing languages are in flux within the Mexican-American community. Some see this as a natural consequence of change, or a mark of Chicano identity that should not be denigrated. Others feel that there is something wrong with this pattern and that the Spanish they and others speak is not "correct." They look

to "purer" or "clearer" examples of use, perhaps that spoken in Mexico or Puerto Rico. Whatever the reasons for changes in language patterns, or attitudes toward mixing, people will use what they are most comfortable using in order to communicate what they want to say to listeners in a way that is most understandable.

There has been research on teachers' judgements based on their attitudes toward language variation. For the most part, these studies indicate that teachers often judge students' abilities negatively if they also have negative attitudes about the language variety of the students. Stigmatized language varieties trigger negative impressions of intellectual competence, even though they may not really be related to academic deficiencies in subject areas. Social class linked features, racially and culturally distinct features are often stigmatized by middle class persons, sometimes even those who themselves are members of the groups involved.

Many teachers do not have linguistic training and cannot analyze language varieties and make curriculum decisions based on information about which differences may impede learning. They may not know how to design specific ways to improve the language performance of bilinguals with different varieties of Spanish. They may feel that the student is speaking "poor Spanish" or "broken English," and not know if they should modify this behavior or how to do so.

In recent years, minority communities, both Hispanic and black, have stressed that these differences are natural reflections of community language patterns. While there is often disagreement within minority groups regarding the need for teachers to try to change students' accented speech or black dialect pronunciation features, there seems to be consensus that teachers should be able to understand what their students are saying and also to accept students as individuals, as human beings. How students speak is a reflection of the family and the community they live in, and is a part of primary socialization process. As such it is also a part of their identity. If they are made to feel that what is taught in school is an addition to what they know, and that they are not "stupid" or "bad" if some out of school behaviors such as ways of speaking are sometimes displayed in school, then they can grow in self confidence while maintaining a sense of belonging to their primary socialization setting.

One of the biggest changes in the last decade with regard to educating Hispanic students has been the recognition that speaking Spanish on school grounds should not be considered a crime. However, in many schools, speaking Spanish is still discouraged, even in schools with bilingual programs. Teachers may say to a child, "you're in America now, speak English." This can be very insulting to a child whose parents and friends speak Spanish, and who may in fact be a second or third generation American citizen. While English is seen as a necessity by all, it does not mean that the language of family and community is "un-American."

--Judith T. Guskin

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

1. For a brief and very readable introduction to the linguistic issues involved in language use and attitudes of people of Mexican descent see F. Peñalosa, Chicano Sociolinguistics (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1980).

2. For a more detailed series of research articles, see R.P. Durán, Latino Language and Communicative Behavior, Vol. 6 (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishers, 1981).

C. CULTURAL IDENTITY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE FOR MIDWESTERN YOUTH

This section identifies issues related to keeping youth a part of their community and recognizing changes in Hispanic identity in a Midwestern context.

1. Keeping Youth as Part of the Community

Intergenerational stress is often a result of both discrimination and immigration. Youth are expected to change some of their language and cultural patterns, but not to such a degree that they can no longer communicate with their families. How they perceive that the dominant society reacts to them as members of a group affects how they feel about themselves.

American ideology says that group distinctions should disappear, or be kept hidden at home. Some minority group members agree with this, but say that the broader society by discrimination is creating social distance, and as long as whites continue to treat Hispanics differently, there is little that can be done. They will not be accepted, even if they speak English. Others say that mobilizing around characteristics of group identity and developing pride and support is the only effective way to success for both individuals and the group. Stripping away ethnic attachments, in the view of many, will not be "freeing," but will only increase the alienation of youth.

Hispanic youth today have institutional support as well as family support which reinforces ethnic pride. As Hispanic communities have developed organizationally, opportunities to be proud of bilingual abilities and to use them have expanded. Bilingual education has played an important role in this development. While this does not mean that values remain the same, that language behavior does not change, and that tensions between teens and their parents are non-existent, it does mean that rejection of one's language and culture is less likely to be seen as necessary if one wants to succeed in the community.

Parents do not want their children to give up their culture. Rejection of their culture by their children would make them unhappy and would weaken ties to family both in the city and those living elsewhere. Families invite relatives from Puerto Rico to stay for extended periods of time, and family members go to Puerto Rico and Mexico or Texas whenever possible for vacations and for support at times of family crises. Parents want their children to be able to speak to older adults who only speak Spanish, and to be respectful and caring.

Parents expect that their children will change because of living in Milwaukee. They know that more English will be spoken and this is seen as valuable. Children do speak more English than their parents. From self-report information and from observation of youth in and out of school settings, a great deal of English can be observed to be spoken among

Hispanic youth of all ages. Younger children and newcomers of all ages will use more Spanish, and all children will switch to Spanish for occasional outbursts of anger, to explain something to a friend who is more Spanish dominant, or to talk to a parent. Most of the students in the high school bilingual program who were asked about language use indicated that they use both languages with friends, but mainly Spanish with older people and parents. They also indicated that they place a high value on bilingualism. No matter what their own use pattern and language dominance was, these teens said that speaking two languages was something to be valued.

Unfortunately, part of the "American ways" that Hispanic youth in cities are exposed to involves problems with teen-age drinking, drugs, and pregnancy. The Hispanic youth have these problems and so do non-Hispanic youth. Both Hispanic and non-Hispanic parents feel that the problems are common, and both see the need for more discipline in the home and in schools, especially secondary schools. Schools need to know how Hispanic community agencies are coping with these problems, and work cooperatively with them. In-service programs for parents and teachers may be needed in order to develop trust between teachers and parents in order to help youth more effectively.

Hispanic community leaders have tried to provide some visability and rewards for youth who do well in high school, and to support those who go on to college. Lists of names are published, and dinners in the honor of Latino high school graduates are held in high schools and communities. In many ways, it is more advantageous for a successful Hispanic student to stress his bilinguality and ethnicity today than to deny it. Unlike in the past, today's Hispanic youth may get financial help, public recognition, and a better job if they are bilingual and proud of their ethnicity.

Schools, working with parents and community leaders, can help youth succeed in school, have higher aspirations and maintain a sense of connection with their families and communities, so important for a sense of pride and well being. In order to do so, teachers need to know about the problems of youth as well as the community resources available to enable them to cope with their problems. Bilingual counselors may be able to play a critical role in linking together youth, their parents, teachers and community resources.

2. Creating a Latino Identity

Mexicans in the Midwest are a part of a group called "Latinos" or Hispanics. This makes their situation different from that in the Southwest. They not only have to recognize internal ethnic group differences based on generational differences, they also have to learn about the values, customs, and ways of speaking of other Hispanic groups, namely Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Central Americans. The process of learning about each other takes place in neighborhoods and schools, and teachers have to be aware of this internal diversity and make decisions about how

to deal with it. Ignoring it is also a decision.

To Milwaukee's Mexican and Puerto Ricans, recognition of differences in customs and values is a recognition of a reality which is functional but can create problems. Newcomers feel more comfortable asking for help from those they feel understand their circumstances. However, in order to relate to the realities of group size, contact, limited resources, and the larger society's institutions, it is necessary to have an Hispanic identity and to bridge differences in language, history and culture.

Milwaukee's Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, for the most part, feel that there are sufficient similarities among Hispanics to enable this cohesion to exist. While history, food preferences, color, music, and sometimes religion (more Puerto Ricans are Protestants, though the majority are Catholic) create differences, language and cultural styles are seen as similar, especially in comparison with Anglos. Both Mexican and Puerto Rican informants feel that Hispanics are "warmer" than Anglos, and that Hispanics share common problems. Language variation is seen as a natural consequence of growing up in a different situation, but language differences are seen as relatively minor vocabulary differences--people just use another word for the same thing. People know of conflicts, but try to stress cooperation.

One community leader discussed the fact that it is important not to stress differences between groups because of the need for Hispanics to be pragmatic and accomplish difficult tasks of organization. He has been involved in organizing bilingual education and other efforts in two communities in the Midwest. He said:

> .....when I see a mission that needs to be accomplished, I'll do whatever it needs to take care of it...I believe in a pluralistic society and I believe that each ethnic group has something to offer to the composition of the community, and that each one should have their own personal pride and that no one is better than the other. There are some people who think more nationalistic, that do not see any good in any other group, and that's the type of mentality that can hinder more than help, because they are not willing to compromise or work with any other philosophy, and that's a problem.

While factions in a community make organization difficult, internal differences do not interfere in Milwaukee, he feels, with the provision of services and in program planning. When there are problems, this is due to a lack of tolerance and understanding.

He believes that people learning about the other group, even picking up their ways of speaking, is a natural consequence of the urban experience and should be seen as enriching. His family has had to face

this situation. Although he is Chicano, his younger daughter interacts with Puerto Ricans and is beginning to speak as they do.

> .....you know, with my child, it's something that I have experienced, and I have not made her feel that she was doing something wrong. I was fascinated that she was acquiring the Puerto Rican way of speaking, but at the same time I reinforced that that was one way of saying it, and we said it in another way, so that she understood that what we were teaching her at home was something additional to compliment her.

Teachers and parents, he feels, need to be sensitive to the issue and not to let differences in identity promote divisiveness or prejudice.

Time has also been a factor in the creation of Hispanic identity. As more contact has occurred and more resources became available, less conflict exists in the community according to some informants. There were more divisions earlier on, when Puerto Ricans first started coming in large numbers, according to one Puerto Rican leader:

> I feel that the Hispanic community has grown a lot. I think they've gone through a lot of pains in growing. I think that there was divisions in the Hispanic community between Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. I felt that division was caused, I would say, mostly because of funding. The Chicanos had been here longer than the Puerto Ricans, and they were in charge of agencies. And many of the people that the agencies were helping were Chicanos. And so when Puerto Ricans came, it was kind of 'we were here first,' and some of the goals and objectives that they had for their people, according to some of them, not all, were not in their minds applied to the Puerto Ricans.

The fact that some Mexicans are not citizens, while Puerto Ricans are, was given as an example of different needs and thus a different focus of concern. Bilingual education was a common concern.

> There were certain things that pulled the community together. Bilingual education was one of them...I think they learned that education is important. I would say the most decisive one. Because once the kids were educated, then you could try to get them into jobs.

The mixture within the Hispanic community does cause some difficulties for the bilingual teacher. S/He has to be aware of the linguistic and cultural differences, as well as generational differences. This leader, who has been a bilingual teacher, continued:

> A bilingual teacher must know the different kinds of backgrounds of the children - the different countries. She has to know, for example, when she gets a migrant child, that is completely different from getting a Mexican or Puerto Rican child that comes from a very solid, established home, or a child that comes from a Puerto Rican or Mexican background that was born here, who has never seen Mexico or Puerto Rico, and yet you're talking about culture. And when you look at it, their culture is here, it's Anglo culture, except for what they have at home, that is Spanish culture. So when you talk about a palm tree, many kids have never seen a palm tree. You see what I mean? So a teacher has to be very aware of the type of children she has in her classroom. Just because they happen to be Hispanic doesn't mean they're all the same. So she has to put in a lot of time and effort to get to know her children. And in order to get to know her children, she has to get to know the family.

A balance is needed in a community that is made up of people with communalities and differences. Acceptance of differences is necessary within the group, yet strategies for common goals require an additional identity, that of "Hispanic." This leads to grouping Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, urban and rural people together for programs and services. However, in order to provide effective services, it is important to recognize group diversity too. How to do so without creating divisiveness is a task that faces many people, especially the bilingual teacher.

Contact between the two groups often occurs for the first time in Milwaukee. One bilingual teacher of Mexican background had never interacted with Puerto Ricans prior to coming to the city. Assignment to a Puerto Rican and black school produced tension and he asked for reassignment to the South Side where both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were enrolled. He said that the experience was a difficult one:

> .....I was shocked because never in my life had I seen a Puerto Rican and I didn't know their life styles...I could not understand them, they spoke so fast that I had to say 'slow down'... I adjusted to it and eventually ended up speaking like the Puerto Ricans.....

A Puerto Rican parent with a child in a bilingual classroom taught by a Mexican teacher says:

> In some cases, you have a Mexican teacher teaching the children. That has its effects. My child came home one day crying. He wanted me to teach him the

> Mexican anthem and me, I do not even know the Puerto Rican one, how can I know the Mexican one?

Parents are aware that it is not possible to have everyone speak the same kind of Spanish and that bilingual teachers will not necessarily be from their same group. There is not too much concern, however. Differences in language variety are seen as natural consequences of differences in background, and, as one person put it, "it would be nice if we all speak the same, but we can't." Communication difficulties are rarely mentioned, and if they are it is usually a complaint that some Puerto Ricans "speak too fast." The major kind of local game played when this topic is raised--people try to see who can list more words that differ.

Bilingual teachers, according to parents, should speak "good" Spanish, and be able to communicate with the parents. It is understood that the teacher will naturally speak that variety of Spanish that is most comfortable given who he or she is. Each group may prefer the variety they speak, but in order to adapt to this new environment, parents know people have to make adjustments and get along. In the words of one parent:

> A Mexican believes Mexican Spanish is best, but a Puerto Rican believes Puerto Rican Spanish is best...it all depends on how they were raised...we have different values, but we are all humans and equal. We are all Latinos.

Children know that they are Puerto Rican or Mexican, but this doesn't mean that they are separated from the other group. There is much comfortable interaction in and out of school. As one boy playing with his neighbor put it, "When I want Mexican food I go to his house, and he comes to mine when he wants Puerto Rican food." They saw their friendship as an enriching opportunity.

Community groups planning awards try to find members of both groups to honor, and food representing both groups is available. True, some Puerto Ricans may not like mole, but they know it should be there. Community leaders make a point of giving recognition to differences in a positive way. Cooperation between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is not something community members feel that they can take for granted. However, it is something that they work to achieve.

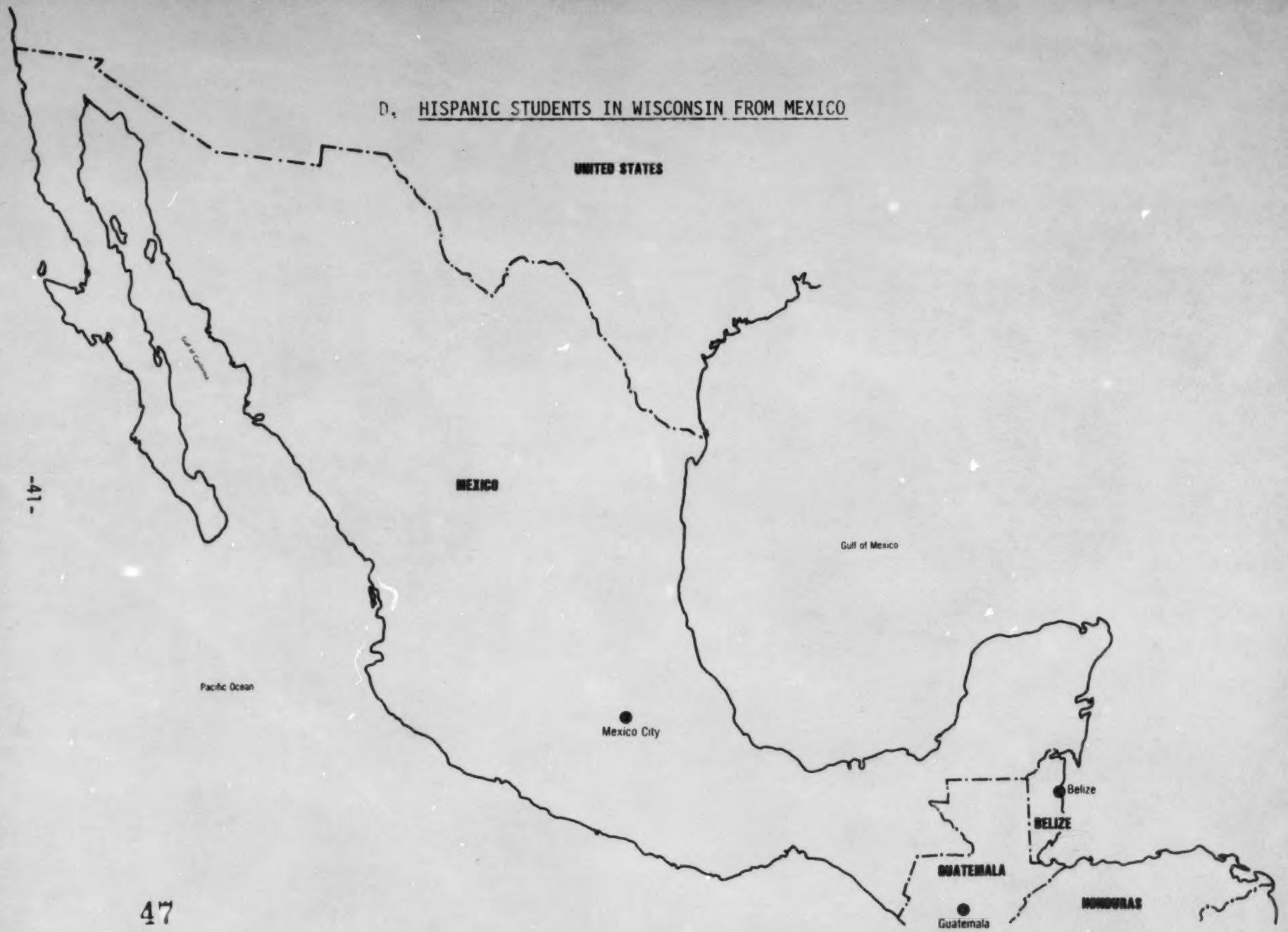
Different people have different reactions to cultural and linguistic diversity. This is true within any ethnolinguistic group as well as between groups. Some people would like to ignore differences. They see them as divisive. Even if a school environment reflects hostilities between groups that break out in fights and name calling, some teachers do not see this or they refuse to deal with it. Others try to learn about

the groups in their school, and to include within the curriculum some references to culture, race, and language that will enhance their students' self-concept, and provide a multicultural learning experience for all the students.

In-service activities are important for Hispanic as well as non-Hispanic teachers, so that they can learn about all the Hispanic groups in the Midwest and ways to relate to them. Information about language varieties, history, cultural patterns, migration experiences and religious differences should be shared so that teachers will be able to enrich the curriculum when appropriate as well as understand their students. Just because a teacher was born into a family of Mexican descent in Wisconsin doesn't mean that the teacher knows about Mexican-American life in Texas or California or Guadalajara, knows why a Pentecostal Puerto Rican boy feels he cannot sing with his class, or knows how a refugee Cuban teenager feels in his new environment.

--Judith T. Guskin

D. HISPANIC STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN FROM MEXICO



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1. Mexican Migration to Milwaukee

a. The First Wave: From 1918 to the Depression

Mexicans began to come to Milwaukee around 1918. While Mexicans had been living in the United States before certain territories became incorporated into the United States[1] and had crossed the Rio Grande as economic circumstances changed in Mexico and the border states, migration to Milwaukee began as industry felt increasing needs for labor. With new immigration laws restricting the supply of unskilled laborers from Europe, industry turned to a new source of workers - Mexicans from Mexico and the Southwest.

In 1920, Pfister and Vogel Leather Company (still today a major employer of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in Milwaukee) recruited 200 Mexicans to work in its several tanneries. This was not the only company to do so, although exact figures are not available.[2] The steel mills also recruited Mexicans. In 1923, Mexicans had begun to settle in several areas of the Midwest including Chicago, Illinois and Gary and Calumet, Indiana, where they worked in steel mills, tanneries, meat packing plants and on the railroads. This was the year the National Tube Company, an affiliate of U.S. Steel, transported 1,500 Mexicans from Texas to work in Lorain, Ohio.

The years 1910-1920 were a period of a sizable increase in Mexican immigration to the U.S. In 1920, there were 51,042 legal immigrants - a number large enough to raise fears in Mexico that the U.S. was pulling away too many people.[4] Immigrants worked as farm workers, miners and railroad maintenance workers throughout the border states. For some time, Mexicans had been working on the railroads. "Mexican Towns" began to grow near the railroad tracks from Texas to Wisconsin. According to Carey McWilliams:

> .....since 1880 Mexicans have made up 70% of the section crews and 90% of the extra gangs on the principle Western Lines which regularly employ 35,000 and 50,000 in these categories.[5]

In the Midwest, the sugar beet industry and the steel mills recruited Mexican workers. While some workers and employers considered this to be "temporary," many workers stayed and were encouraged to do so. By the 1920's, the local Milwaukee press began to comment on the growing number of Mexicans.[6] By 1927, it was "an invasion," according to a Milwaukee Journal article.[7] While some local people assisted the newcomers, others had negative feelings about Mexicans. They were seen by some as strikebreakers, since this was a period of labor unrest and union organizing. While this was true in some cases (in Milwaukee some were "scabs"), many Mexicans joined the unions.[8] Some people noted the drinking habits of Mexicans during this time of prohibition. One observer of the Milwaukee scene remembers:

.....being in the American Railway Express Office in Milwaukee in the spring of 1928 and noting that there were five or six Mexicans, only one of whom spoke any English, at the counter. They were presenting their "express receipt" like any package being sent up to the sugar beet fields. The season for the beet industry closes down in the late fall or early winter, and then the Mexican men flock into town to hibernate til their money is gone for silk shirts, billiards and pool, presents for their wives and "lady friends" and undoubtedly drink; for the Mexican laborer is addicted to drinking "pulque" like water in Mexico and would feel no violation of the law in drinking "bootleg" here.[9]

When the first Mexicans tell their side of the story, it is a story of hard work, discrimination as well as examples of mutual self help.[10] What follows are a few of their reflections: (Their names have been changed.)

Mr. Flores arrived in Milwaukee in 1921. He remembers that there were few Mexicans here at this time. I asked a guy, "Where's the Mexican Colony?" He said "What? I've never seen any." He did find a Mexican friend and at first they had to sleep in a park. But work was found quickly, and so was a room.

Mr. Gonzáles arrived on a six month contract with the tannery a few years later. He and other Mexican male workers lived in barracks and ate in a company cafeteria. They never saw the rest of the city. Soon he sent for his wife and daughters. As soon as they were settled, they proceeded to help other newcomers. Carloads of Mexicans were dropped off at their door, he recalls. He remembers some discrimination he faced. "We couldn't walk down the streets...." One Mexican was walking there and got beaten up by four "gringos." I saw it and told a cop and he said "they're (Mexicans) getting beaten up everywhere."

When Mr. López arrived in April of 1925, he got a job with a contractor. Three years later he went to Mexico to marry his high school sweetheart. He was pleased that he could get a free education. Since a friend's children were sent home from school until they spoke English, he was determined to learn English.

Mrs. Sánchez's grandfather came in 1919. Her grandfather was active in the community. He ran a boarding house and a lot of newcomers from Mexico lived in the house.

.....my mother came with my grandfather in 1919. She was at a very young age. They were one of the first Mexicans that came to Milwaukee. First my

> grandfather, who was very active in the community, came here. He ran a boarding house. They worked in the tanneries, here at Pfister and Vogel Tanneries, and in the railroad. When my grandfather was established here, then he sent for my grandmother. She was in Monterey, Mexico and at that time she had three children, with my uncle and my mother and my auntie. They came and my mother came at six years old. At that time they put her in the Milwaukee Public Schools... she said it was very hard for her because she just hated to go to school because she didn't speak English.....

Mr. Costas remembers that the early Mexican immigrants had to face discrimination:

> .....There was, of course, discrimination at that time, and very visible...they did find it difficult to find another better paying job and they had to remain for years in the foundary and in the cannery work, and they also found it difficult to rent a room...

By 1926, the size of the Mexican community had grown to over 1,500 according to a local newspaper story.[11] Their religious needs were now recognized on the largely Catholic South Side and places of worship were provided. One of these places was Holy Trinity Church.

> .....aware of the presence of Mexican laborers in the neighborhood, Father Haberstock made the Trinity School Hall available for Mass and other services by Spanish-speaking priests.....[12]

The Mexicans desired their own church and this was dedicated on December 12, 1926.[13] The Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Milwaukee provided the Mexican population with a place to use their language, develop a social life, help each other as well as practice their religion. It increased the visibility of the Mexican population and parts of the Near South Side were seen as a Mexican enclave.

There were many negative experiences that these early Mexicans had to face in the twenties and thirties. On the one hand, the Klu Klux Klan began to organize in the area. A secret meeting was held in 1920, on a ship moored in the Milwaukee River to organize the Klan. Within four years it had 75,000 members.[14] However, while fears in the U.S. existed due to the Russian Revolution and the growing ethnic diversity in the cities, the economy was strong and still needed workers. Though unwelcomed by some, Mexicans were fulfilling labor needs critical to the continuing economic growth of the city.

b. The Great Depression

The situation changed dramatically in the early 1930's. The Great Depression hit Milwaukee later than some other cities, but by 1931, it had certainly arrived. Within a few months Milwaukee changed from a city least hurt by the depression to one where jobs were scarcest. By 1933, employment dropped to half of what it was in 1929. By April 1933, about one fifth of the Milwaukee population was on relief.[15]

Mexican immigration had already been declining sharply in the U.S. In 1930, U.S. immigration data records only 11,915 Mexicans.[16] The decline of Mexican immigrants can partially be explained by the difficult economic conditions in the U.S. and the beginning of economic recovery in Mexico. It also reflects a concerted effort to forcibly remove Mexicans, to "send them home where they belong." Mexicans were frightened of applying for relief. If they did so they were referred to "Mexican Bureaus" which deported them. Often this was done without concern for the fact that they might be American citizens, or that they had families here. Sometimes they found themselves on special trains headed for the border. In the four years between 1930 and 1934, more than 64,000 Mexican aliens left the United States without formal proceedings.[17]

Some Mexicans in Milwaukee went home voluntarily to avoid the "repatriation" that would have been forced on them. Others stayed, but feared asking for relief. Some families were broken up in the process.[18] Local informants have told of these repatriations, both forced and voluntary. Mr. López recalls: "Milwuakee County tried to get rid of Mexicans." The local press noted the decreasing size of Milwaukee's Mexican population.[19]

For those who remained, there were few special services available. Sometimes local people were asked to help translate, and to help fill out welfare forms. If the schools needed help with a non-English-speaking child, either Spanish-speaking or Croatian-speaking, a neighbor would be asked to come and translate. During the depression, the local grocery store served not only as a place for food, but also as a social service agency:

> .....the grocery store was one of the places that had a telephone, (so people would say) - "would you please call the Welfare Department for me...explain to them our situation"....so they could get help, some food.....

c. The 1940's Bring Growth and Change

The situation changed in the 1940's. The economy was growing stronger again; there was a need once more for unskilled workers in

Wisconsin. With state and federal support, agricultural workers were brought into the state. In 1944, 800 Mexican laborers were brought into Wisconsin and by 1947, there were 2,638.[20] Most of these workers came from the Southwest. Many stayed on after the season.

The ethnic diversity that characterized the city for the earlier wave of Mexicans still existed in the 1940's. Changes in language use and in ethnic enclaves had begun to take place, but there were still colonies of the foreign-born twenty years after the first immigration. Much of this was due to the location of low-cost housing, ethnic churches, and people's desire to live near those of similar background.[21] The influx of post-war displaced persons also added to this diversity.

However, by the forties changes were taking place in the community. English was increasingly heard from Polish Catholic priests. While church attendance was still strong, the old ethnic enclave was changing. On Mitchell Street, along with the offices of "Nowiny Polskie" and the "Modjeska Movie Theatre" were to be found Sears and Roebuck and Penney's.[22] The growth of the suburbs began to attract industry and Southsiders to other parts of the city. The Serbs were moving Westward in the city, though an enclave around St. Sava still existed. Public transporation and the growth of a major manufacturer in the West Allis suburb encouraged movement.[23]

The vast majority of Mexicans remained on the South Side. Movement was primarily within the barrio. As families grew in size, and as more Mexicans came to work in the area, the housing situation became difficult. Nearness to work was desirable, but sometimes Mexicans faced difficulty related to moving, especially into non-Hispanic areas:

> .....we had to go and look to buy another house because there were six of us, and nobody wanted to rent to six people, and I remember at five in the morning we took the wagon and when we were moving my sister and I and my brother...The police stopped us because they thought we were stealing... My father told them we were moving early...Then they said they were sorry...and Bruce and 5th Street were our boundaries, and if we did come down here (to 4th Street) they would tell us, right away, "Go back to the neighborhood where you live." But at that time you didn't think anything about it. But you feel bad.....

However, segregation for blacks was even more of a problem. The onset of World War II brought new opportunities for black workers as well as for Mexican workers. The black population in Milwaukee started to grow dramatically during this period. Most blacks moved to the same area that had previously been identified as a black area, and so they were highly segregated. Few blacks lived on the Near South Side.

There were several public celebrations among first and second generation Mexicans in the 1940's. Many participated in the annual Mexican Independence Day Parade and there were dances and church related activities. Mexican men belonged to a club, Sociedad Mutualista Hispano-Azteca, which published a monthly Spanish language newspaper, El Mutualista, and sponsored plays in Spanish, as well as provided mutual help. El Mutualista was published from January 1947 to June 1950. It ran stories on Mexico and Mexicans in the U.S. A frequent feature was a poem or a story written by a local person. The writers were influenced by their Spanish language education in Mexico, and indicated pride in "correct" Spanish. A special column reflected their desire to correct some of the Anglicisms newly appearing in speech of the community, especially among youth. El Mutualista in the forties exhorted its conservative Catholic readership to good behavior and local community unity. It looked back to Mexico as its source for values and language models.[24]

Mexican families and their friends in the forties were able to actively participate in their own voluntary organizations. They perceived themselves as different from others and were so perceived. Instead of turning against the symbols and customs of their culture, they kept these as a way of fostering group and personal identity. This was acceptable in Milwaukee for each ethnic group had its ethnic organizations. They were of economic benefit, functioned as social clubs, provided places to speak a common language, and were places where one could go to talk about the many relatives still living elsewhere.

FOOTNOTES

1. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe - Hidalgo (Feb. 2, 1848), Mexico ceded a vast territory to the United States.

2. Agnes M. Fenton, The Mexicans of Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Milwaukee: Y.W.C.A. International Institute, 1930) p. 20.

3. Louis Holscher and Stanley West, "The Historical Setting," in Stanley A. West and June Macklin, The Chicano Experience, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1979).

4. Joan W. Moore, Mexican Americans. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.) P.40.

5. Casey McWilliams, North From Mexico. (Philadelphia: Lippencott Co., 1949), p. 168.

6. "Habla Usted Ingles? Mexican Newcomers Anxious to Learn," Milwaukee Journal, 15 May, 1920.

7. "Where Mexico Has Invaded Milwaukee," Milwaukee Journal, 14 August, 1927.

8. Holschers and West, op. cit., p. 26.

9. Fenton, op. cit., p. 20.

10. "They Pioneered For Mexicans," Milwaukee Journal, Sunday, 3 February, 1974. Also information from interviews conducted as part of this study.

11. This article has been photo copied by Arnold Sevilla and is in his collection of early documents.

12. Our Lady of Guadalupe and Holy Trinity. Church publication, 1975, p. 2.

13. Ibid., p. 2.

14. The KKK may not have lasted very long. It was at its height in 1926, according to one source (H. Russell Austin, The Wisconsin Story: The Building of a Vanguard, Milwaukee: Milwaukee Journal, 1965) (c. 1948), p. 309. According to another it was not active any longer around 1928. Robert Wells, This is Milwaukee. (Garden City N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1920), p. 206.

15. Robert Wells, This is Milwaukee (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1970).

16. Moore, op. cit., p. 40.

17. Moore, op. cit., pp. 40-42.

18. Discussions with local informants, especially Arnold Sevilla, who has interviewed local Mexicans about their recollections of this experience. Some quotes from the Milwaukee Journal article "They Pioneered For Mexicans," 3 February, 1974.

19. "Mexican Colony Here Dwindling," Milwaukee Journal, 8 October, 1933. For further information of the repatriation situation see Abraham Hoffman, Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1974).

20. L.G. Sorden, Erven Long and Margaret Salick, Wisconsin Farm Labor Program, 1943-1947. (Madison: Agriculture Extension Service, 1948), p. 31.

21. Bayrd Still, Milwaukee: The History of a City. (Madison: The State Historical Society, 1965) c. 1948, pp. 334-5.

22. Ibid., pp. 468-469.

23. Deborah Padgett, "Settlers and Sojourners:A Study of Adaptation of Serbs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin." Unpublished dissertation, 1979, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, p. 128.

24. Oliver T. Meyers and Rodolfo J. Cortina, "A Diachronic Study of Chicano Vocabulary: Urban Newspaper Style." Unpublished paper.

2. Mexican Family Structure, Values and Learning Patterns

This section raises some questions about the heterogeneity within the Mexican families, some values that are said to be important and some assumptions about socialization practices that have implications for learning.

Demographic information on Mexican-American families tells us that the Spanish language is often used in the home, family size is large, educational attainment is limited, and income is low. These factors do affect children in many ways, and teachers should be sensitive to them, although not assume that they characterize all Mexican-American families. How much Spanish does a child use and with whom at home? Who can help him with homework in English? Does he or she need to help take care of younger children and could this be hurting school work? Can the parents read and write either language? Is the child used as an interpreter and kept out of school to accompany his mother to a clinic because she doesn't know English? Did he really only eat beans for dinner all week? Was he absent because he doesn't have a warm coat?

However, when we wish to find cultural characteristics that can be said to provide guidance regarding socialization practices, values and learning styles, we come up against the problems of insufficient research and changing family structures due to different degrees of acculturation, generational differences, urban and rural differences. There is sensitivity on the part of Mexican-Americans regarding inappropriate stereotypes developed from studies of rural villages in Mexico. Many researchers today, especially those who are Mexican-American, feel that the families of Mexican-Americans are changing rapidly and this is an inaccurate approach. Murillo says: "There is no Mexican-American family type. Instead there are literally thousands of Mexican-American families, all differing significantly from one another along a variety of dimensions."[1]

Some studies reported by Martinez, Jr.[2] have shown clear sex role differentiation in Mexican-American families (Staples, 1971[3]) while others have indicated that younger Mexican-Americans are rejecting traditional female and male roles (Padilla and Ruiz, 1973[4]) assumed to be part of the culture.

Studies of Chicano and Anglo high school students' responses to images of mother, father, males and females, have indicated differences in judgments with Chicano males perceiving "males" and "fathers" as stronger and more potent, a finding appearing to be consistent with the concept of machismo. Anglo females and Chicanos were more alike in their judgements of females.[5]

Stoddard[6] feels that there has been a general failure in the literature to deal with the heterogeneity within the Mexican-American culture. Too often inappropriate comparisons are made with Mexican folk culture and urban Mexican-American populations. He feels that it is necessary to

recognize the fact that many families in cities are nuclear families rather than extended families and that female headed households are prevalent within the barrios.

In addition, compared with first generation families, third generation Mexican-Americans are increasingly marrying out of their ethnic group. There are few data on these issues, but Stoddard says that in the Los Angeles and San Antonio samples of the Mexican-American Study Project about one third of the families in the lower-income group were one parent families. Mittleback, Moore and McDaniel, as part of the same study, reported data on the increasing rates of intermarriage.[7] Many of the intermarriages involve middle class Mexican-Americans and Anglos. Stoddard feels that increased occupational advancement and more equal social contact will accelerate present rates of exogamy.

Within Mexican-American families can be found great diversity due to changing values. This was stated by Romano-V as follows:

> Traditionally in the United States, the Mexican family has been dealt with as if it were monolithic, authoritarian, and uni-dimensional...the truth of the matter is that virtually every Mexican-American family takes several forms and includes many types...from assimilationist to Chicano, to cultural nationalist... In short, the same complexity that is found in the general Mexican-American population is also found in the family of virtually every Mexican-American. (p. 45)[8]

In addition to the belief that there are changes in the Mexican-American family and great heterogeneity, some researchers believe that the traditional compadrazco relationships of extended family ties are also breaking down. Others do not agree.

In spite of statements regarding changing patterns, the importance of close family relationships is a value that is often cited for Mexican-Americans. In addition, parents are said to stress respect for adults as a core family value. This was true of Mexican-Americans interviewed in Milwaukee, as well as those in a study by Rusmore and Kirmeryer[9] in California. They report that Mexican-American parents indicated (a) the importance of close ties with their own parents; (b) warm and friendly feelings toward relatives; (c) that a child's best friend should be a brother or sister; and (d) that loyalty to family members is important, right or wrong. In addition, Mexican-American parents reported that they behave in ways likely to create strong family ties and respect for and obedience to authority more often than Anglo-Americans said they require. In comparison with Anglo parents, Mexican-Americans require their children to play closer to home, less often allow them to make independent decisions about what to wear and when to go to bed, and express more disapproval when their children talk back to or interrupt adults.

Kagan believes that the family centered socialization practices of Mexican-Americans leads to more cooperative behavior among children in school settings.[10] He says:

> It is possible that the greater emphasis in family unity creates a "we" set or group enhancement orientation that is generalized to other settings... this group orientation may occur at both the affective and cognitive levels and may result from many processes, including modeling, presumption, reinforcement and, attachment.[11]

Kagan, after a review of existing studies, concludes that the evidence supports the idea that Mexican-American children are more concerned than other children with cooperative motives, especially group enhancement and altruism. These differences involve choosing alternatives that satisfy cooperative rather than competitive motives over a wide range of experimental games, projective techniques, role plays and interviews. Rather than trying to get more than their peers, children chose alternatives to "make it even" or "to be nice." These data were collected in numerous studies over a wide range of populations with social class, urban and rural differences included. Most were second and third generation students.

Other researchers have emphasized cognitive differences that are said to relate to Mexican-American socialization patterns. Ramirez and Castañeda[12] called a particular Mexican-American style a "field sensitive cognitive style" which is said to be related to traditional cultural values. The greater cooperativeness, affiliativeness, and sensitivity of Mexican-Americans in interpersonal relations was attributed to this field sensitive style (or field dependent style) which was said to have developed because of socialization practices. There are some research data to support greater field dependence in Mexican-American children when they are compared with Anglo children, but this does not hold in all studies. The relationship between cognitive style and family practices has not been empirically confirmed, although it is often discussed.[13]

A summary of studies concerning the relationship between field dependent cognitive style learning and academic achievement can be found in an article by Kagan and Buriel.[14] They report that cognitive style seems to account for about 5% to 10% of the variance in reading and math achievement. It cannot fully explain Mexican-American school failure or success. Unfortunately, the studies did not distinguish between families who are more traditional and those in various stages of acculturation.

A study of English language proficiency, cognitive style, and achievement, using a multiple regression prediction model, carried out by De Avila, Duncan, Ulibarri and Fleming[15] in 1979, found some evidence that urban Mexican-American children's achievement was associated with

performance on a number of cognitive style measures. In this study, urban Mexican-American children's achievement in language could be accounted for up to 32% by their performance on cognitive style measures. Field dependence was associated with higher reading achievement for this urban population, but not for a rural Mexican-American population. Once again, failure to describe what the values and family patterns of the homes were means that the link between student performance on specific tasks and primary socialization practices cannot be explained.

According to De Avila et al., cognitive style is not more important than two other major variables which he found to be predictive of achievement: English oral language proficiency and teacher perceptions and judgments. Unfortunately, no information is provided about the classroom situations for the urban and rural Mexican-American children, their relative oral English proficiency or the linguistic and cultural characteristics of the teachers. Knowing that learning styles differ, oral language skills in English are important and teachers' judgements make a difference does not provide adequate evidence that culturally different families bring up their children in ways that need to be taken into account in planning educational programs.

In conclusion, teachers do need to know the demographic realities of the families of their students in general terms, but there are no lists of cultural traits that can be realistically applied to the heterogenious situation existing today. Some of the families will be newcomers from rural Mexico and may be indeed similar to the families studied by anthropologists in rural Mexico. Others will have been in Wisconsin for a long time and will have changed because of what they have experienced here. Some may be single parent homes, and this may affect the kinds of interactions that the children have more than their ethnicity. A visit to some homes will indicate the presence of other adults - grandparents, or other relatives - who may speak only Spanish. Other families may not have seen relatives living in Mexico or Texas for years. Some fathers will seem traditional, others will not. Given the limited data on family life, values, and their relationship to learning styles, we are forced to consider each family as somewhat unique.

Most parents, no matter what their ethnic and linguistic background, share certain values about child rearing. Mexican-American families interviewed in Milwaukee disciplined their children for bad behavior, just as Anglo families reported that they did. Respect for them and obedience was high on their list of important characteristics of appropriate behavior. They want their children to take care of them when they are old. While most Mexican-American parents said that they want their children to remain nearby, they said that they would understand it if their children moved away to take advantage of better employment or educational opportunities. Like all parents, they want their sons to be good fathers, to work hard for their families and to be honest and stay out of trouble. However, unlike Anglo parents, Mexican-American parents value bilingualism and want their children to know two languages. They see linguistic and cultural continuity as important in themselves, not as a means to some other end.

Teachers should be able to communicate with parents about their children, and learn what they can about factors in the home which they feel might help explain behaviors that they have observed in school. Even though research data are quite limited,they may wish to experiment with cooperative learning designs if they feel that students from Mexican-American families are not responding to other approaches. They should know something about family size, language use patterns, and the degree of poverty so that they can better understand how the child lives outside of school. And they should examine their own images and prejudices, so that they do not create self-fulfilling prophecies of failure. If children from Mexican-American backgrounds do not learn in school, it is not because they have unique family structures and values. It is because they haven't been taught in a way that works for them, and teachers need to keep trying to find better ways. Learning about families may help, but so might learning about specific instructional practices.

--Judith T. Guskin

FOOTNOTES

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8. O.I. Romano-V., "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans," El Grito, 1969, 2, pp. 32-46, as quoted in Stoddard, p. 97.

9. J. Rusmore and S. Kirmeryer, Family Attitudes Among Mexican-American and Anglo-American Parents in San Jose, California. Paper presented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the Western Psychological Association, Los Angeles, California, April, 1976.

10. S. Kagan, "Social Motives and Behaviors of Mexican-American and Anglo-American Children," in J. L. Martinez, Jr. op. cit., pp. 45-86.

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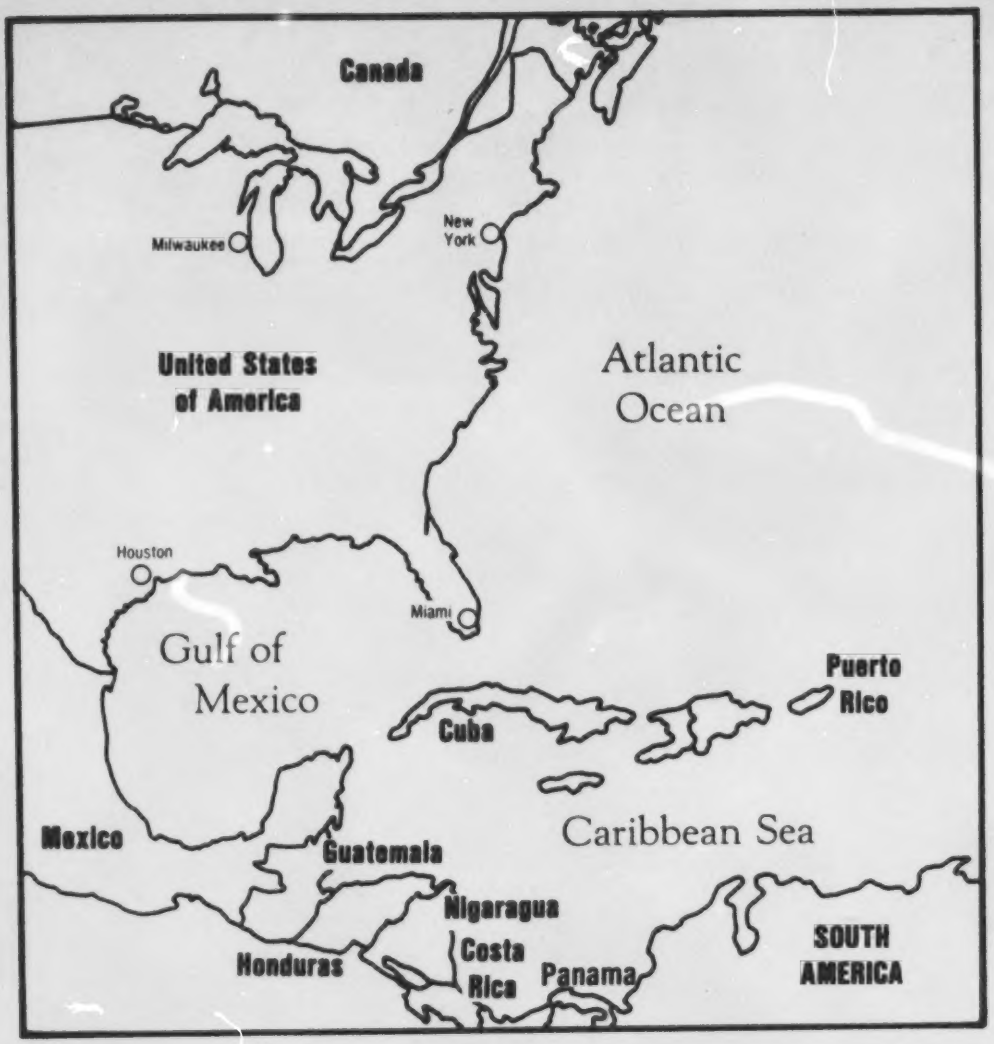
E. HISPANIC STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN FROM PUERTO RICO



PUERTO RICO

1. Increased Diversity: One Language, Two Communities--Puerto Rican Migration

Milwaukee, as well as other cities in the Midwest, differs from Spanish-speaking communities in the Southwest in terms of the cultural backgrounds of Hispanics. While there are many similarities, so are there many differences among Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, and other Latin Americans. Historical, geographical, and racial differences, as well as differences in music, food, language, and in Anglo attitudes towards these groups, all add to the diversity of Midwestern Hispanic communities.

Not everyone within these Hispanic communities feels the same way about these cultural differences. To some, they matter little -- "we are all Latinos," but to others they matter a great deal. While at times conflict has occurred, and separate agencies and clubs persist, this diversity has in many ways provided increased opportunities for bringing greater attention to the needs of the Spanish-speaking. Local Hispanic community leadership can draw on the strengths of many individuals when looking for competent people to fill needed jobs. Some may, at times, prefer that those hired be similar in cultural background to themselves, but they recognize that cooperative efforts are essential, given the relatively small numbers of Hispanics and their limited political influence in Midwestern cities.

The coming of Puerto Ricans to Milwaukee in the 1950's provided greater numbers and greater attention to the needs of the Spanish-speaking. While there had been some Puerto Rican migration to the city during the Depression, the numbers remained quite small (approximately 300) until the early 50's.[1] Even from the beginning, separate barrios emerged. Three areas developed, only one of which was continuous with, and later became integrated with the Mexican population on the South Side. The initial settlement was spread out along State Street from Jefferson to 35th Street, North of the industrial Menominee Valley, while most Mexicans lived South of the Valley.

The post World War II period saw an increase in Puerto Rican migration to the Midwest region. Prior migration took place primarily on the East Coast. Growth in manufacturing during the War, and the attempts of the Migration Division to channel migrants to areas offering employment opportunities helped encourage this movement to the Midwest.[2] Also, former farm laborers began to follow a step migration pattern, stopping off in Ohio and later coming on to Chicago and Milwaukee.

Local people tell how, as youth in Puerto Rico, they had heard something about Milwaukee. "Milwaukee was already famous" said one. Perhaps a relative had visited or lived there, or they had known someone who had come to school at the Catholic colleges in the city. Perhaps they were present when a labor recruiter from the city came to their town. While most disliked the cold weather, they felt that they could find others like them there to help them to adjust. Most important of all, they could find work.

The early 1950's were a prosperous time in Milwaukee. Unemployment was only 1.4%, and it stayed below 3% until 1953, rising only slightly in the years that followed. Industrial growth was above the national average. Local industry needed more unskilled and semi-skilled workers.[2] Mexicans who were bilingual could help the factories utilize more Spanish-speaking workers.

The Wisconsin State Employment Service, as they had done in the past with European immigration, encouraged labor recruitment and helped pay for it.[3]

In April, 1951, ten workers from local factories were sent to Puerto Rico to recruit. One local informant recalls many were anxious to come:

> .....in 1951 a representative from Grede Foundaries in Milwaukee came to Barceloneta looking for ten big, strong men to work in the foundary. At the time, I was too young to apply, but I went to the plaza to hear him anyway. I remember one man, who was very short, that climbed onto a chair so that he would look taller, and have a better chance to be selected.....[4]

By 1953, there were approximately 4,000Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee, and they were being noticed. It was clear that many needed help adjusting to city life as well as to the schools. There were no agencies established to help them, except for some church related groups. Local informants remember that they were quite concerned about the education of their children. Neither they nor their children spoke English. (There were no special programs in the schools until 1954, when a small ESL program was established.) They often had difficulty finding housing and had to live with relatives. There was little to do in the way of recreation. Some local taverns did organize sports activities, but not much else existed. When the young people would take out their guitars and play music on their porches when it was warm, their Anglo neighbors would call the police. Complaints about police harassment was an agenda item for the City's Common Council on October 27, 1953.[5]

The influx was so great that a local sociologist, Dr. Rudolph Morris, undertook a survey to find out something about these newcomers, about this "Puerto Rican Problem." He found that most Puerto Ricans had relatives or friends here and came for economic reasons. About 10% had been recruited directly from Puerto Rico. More than half of those surveyed had previously done farm work.[6]

In the summer of 1952, a Puerto Rican Civic Committee was formed to facilitate the adjustment of newcomers. Pamphlets on Milwaukee's customs, churches, and school were published.[7]

The middle part of the decade of the 1950's was one of recession. High unemployment in manufacturing companies meant that some families

returned home. As jobs became available again, they returned. Unemployment was particularly high in 1958, especially for Puerto Ricans, perhaps as high as 40%.[8] Welfare was based on a residency period of one year, so church organizations such as St. Vincent de Paul provided some assistance.[9] There was a high degree of mobility within the city, as families searched for cheaper housing. They began to move near the growing black ghetto, but seldom inside it; they were like a "buffer zone" between blacks and whites, and between whites and Mexicans. By the later part of the 1950's, the Puerto Rican population stabilized itself and it was clear that many would be here to stay.

Milwaukee public schools recognized the existence of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in a 1959 text which highlighted the ethnic groups in the city and the advantages of living there. The section on ethnic groups concluded with brief mention of these two groups. The writer admitted that he knew little about Mexicans "except that many of them earn their living doing unskilled jobs or semi-skilled work in factories of many kinds." He said that some Mexicans were only temporarily in the city, while others might stay. Regarding Puerto Ricans, he said that the most important fact was their lack of English, and the fact that they were forming "little colonies," though these were not as large as the German and Polish colonies of early times. Some Puerto Ricans, he said, were of "Spanish descent" and some are "Negroes." No information about history or culture was provided.[10]

The schools began to recognize the educational challenge they had previously ignored. While evening classes for adults to learn English and for Mexicans to become citizens had existed in the schools on the Near South Side since the 1930's, modification of the instructional program began in the 1950's. Many Mexican youth were not performing at grade level, but it was not until the large influx of Puerto Ricans that special programs were developed for children.

English as a Second Language Programs were established to assist students in four schools, three having Puerto Rican students and one Mexican school on the South Side. The program provided one class period a day of intensive English instruction.[11] While the instruction provided some assistance to those who knew little or no English, it was not adequate and was viewed as a quick route to assimilation. The program began on the Lower East Side, in Jefferson School. At an open house at this school, Puerto Rican children sang three songs: "Yankee Doodle," "America," and the "Pow-Pow Patch" in English.[12]

In a University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee master's thesis on educational needs of Puerto Rican students in 1957, Eimerman suggested that pride in one's own heritage should be emphasized along with English skills. In addition, modifications in many areas of the public school curriculum were suggested. He felt that you could see the effects of the then current practices on the students language loss, and a feeling of marginality:

.....The present generation...might be classed as a "lost generation," caught between the society in which it lives at school and that in which it lives at home, a group which does not, in the fullest sense, belong to either. They will speak, read, and write English. Their children will know it as the dominant language and perhaps they will struggle to learn the language which their parents found so difficult to forget.....[13]

He was correct for many of Milwaukee's youth. The district was not yet ready for this. Some youth today recognize their loss and have entered high school bilingual programs to enable them to speak the language of their parents. Many lost both their language fluency and an opportunity for an adequate education. While reliable statistics are not available for Milwaukee, the drop-out rate was high, just as it was in the rest of the nation. According to census figures for 1950, 1960, and 1970, more than half of all Puerto Ricans in the U.S. never finished high school. According to a survey of the Puerto Rican community twenty years later by Santiago for her master's thesis, only a third of the Puerto Ricans in her sample of 215 had graduated from high school. Approximately 26% of those 16 - 21 years of age were not high school graduates or in school, and 10% had had little or no schooling at all.[14] While these are not necessarily the same people who were in elementary school prior to bilingual programs, it is possible that this reflects the general picture of educational attainment of Puerto Ricans in the city. The issues related to drop-outs and the lack of congruence between school and community surfaced in the 1960's as key issues for the mobilization of community activists and high school students. The whole question of disfunctions of the schools in serving culturally and linguistically different youth led to demands for bilingual counselors, courses on Hispanic culture and bilingual education for Hispanics in Milwaukee.

--Judith T. Guskin

FOOTNOTES

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4. Anne M. Akulicz de Santiago, The Puerto Rican Community of Milwaukee: A Study of Geographic Mobility. MA Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1978, published by Spanish-Speaking Outreach Institute, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1980, p. 25. (This is a detailed analysis of migration patterns of Puerto Ricans.)

5. "Puerto Rican Hearing Held," The Milwaukee Journal, 27 October, 1953.

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11. John McLean, "Young Puerto Ricans Study Our Language," The Milwaukee Journal, 8 January, 1954.

12. John McLean, "Young Puerto Ricans School Visitors," The Milwaukee Journal, 10 March, 1954.

13. Robert Monroe Eimerman, The Development of a Program for Teaching Non-English Speaking Puerto Rican Children at the Thomas Jefferson School, Milwaukee. Unpublished thesis, 1957.

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2. Cultural Background and Educational Needs of Puerto Rican Students

The purpose of this paper is to share with educators some thoughts related to culturally derived needs and differences of Puerto Rican school children. With a better understanding of the historic and cultural background of their Puerto Rican students, teachers may be able to meet those students' needs more effectively.

The insights, suggestions, and information offered in this paper are based on the following assumptions concerning the culturally derived behavior of Puerto Rican students.

a. Puerto Rican students share a common historical and cultural background.

b. Puerto Rican students are not all alike.

c. Some Puerto Rican students behave in ways that are different from those of mainstream American students.

d. Knowledge of these differences, when they do occur, can help maximize teaching effectiveness.

These assumptions will be used as a conceptual outline for exploring the relationship between culture and effective teaching, as it pertains to the schooling of Puerto Rican children. As organized in this paper, then, each major assumption will serve as a broad heading for examining the variations among Puerto Rican school children, the differences from their non-Puerto Rican peers, and the classroom applications suggested by these differences.

The fact that some of the generalizations made in this paper may not be accepted by all of the readers is quite likely and, in my opinion, a positive sign. Cultural information must be offered through generalizations. However, for every generalization, there usually is an exception. Therefore, to support my points, I will give some illustrations and examples that seem to validate the statements made about the differences between Puerto Rican students and other students. It is clearly not my intention to foster the trend towards stereotyping individuals that often has been the unplanned result of past attempts to identify and inventory the cultural differences of various groups. The culturally related behaviors to be discussed here should be viewed as behavioral hypotheses that need to be validated by all teachers in their own classroom with their particular group of students.

a. Puerto Rican Students Share a Common Historical and Cultural Background.

Puerto Rican children bring to school many of the values and modes of conduct that they have been taught at home. Some of these values and patterns of behavior differentiate Puerto Rican children from other children whose upbringing was in a different home setting. These dissimilarities in behavior and beliefs which set Puerto Rican school children apart from other pupils are often not fully understood by teachers, and, therefore, may be the cause of unnecessary interpersonal conflict and misunderstanding in the classroom.

The values and patterns of behavior that are learned by Puerto Rican children from their parents are heavily influenced by their particular and unique Puerto Rican culture. It follows then that, if we wish to understand the behavior of these children, we must first have some familiarity with the concept of culture and how it influences behavior.

Culture has been defined by some social scientists as the way of life of a people. Among the most important component elements of a culture are specific behaviors such as the customs, language, religion, ideas, and values that are shared and learned by all members of that cultural group. Some of the behaviors become so widely practiced among the members of the group, so as to enable outside observers to generalize about an individual's background based on the cultural behavior s/he exhibits. Thus, Westerners typically use a fork, knife and spoon when eating, while many Orientals prefer the use of chop sticks when engaged in the same activity. The use of different eating utensils is a cultural trait that can be associated with different groups of people. Similarly, the fact that many Puerto Rican children prefer to speak in Spanish when socializing with their counterparts in the classroom, while other pupils speak to each other in English, is a cultural trait that should suggest to the teacher something concerning the background of each student.

History has played an important part in the development of Puerto Rican culture. The nature of Puerto Rican society and its values were shaped by the island's past experience as a colony of Spain and a territorial possession of the United States. Those interested in understanding the Puerto Rican way of life must first study its history, and examine how the combination of various cultures have influenced how the people of Puerto Rico behave and think.

The need for this knowledge I think is illustrated by some of my own personal experiences. I had been an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse for about six months, trying to adjust to my new surroundings, when a series of events made me realize how little some of those around me knew about Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. Having come from New York City where my parents and sister lived, I had often, like other college students, written home asking for money. Usually my folks replied with a money order. Once, however, they sent me a check instead, drawn on their

account in the Banco de Ponce, a large Puerto Rican bank with a branch in New York City. I took the check to the college bookstore where I had cashed my parents' postal money orders in the past without any problems. Such was not to be the case this time.

When I handed the cashier my check, she paused to inspect it and, looking up at me with a puzzled expression, she apologized for not being able to cash my check, because, as she explained, "I don't know what the exchange rate is for Puerto Rican pesos." Somewhat astounded, I replied that Puerto Rico was a part of the United States. Consequently, the money used in Puerto Rico is the same in dollars and cents as that used in the continental United States. There is no such thing as Puerto Rican pesos. In any case, I continued, the check was written for a bank in New York, and then I pointed out the small print below the bank's name that showed the address. The Rockefeller Plaza location reassured the cashier who promptly handed me my fifteen dollars, her knowledge of Puerto Rico having been expanded in the transaction. I also learned a valuable lesson about the degree of knowledge held by my fellow Wisconsinites concerning that small island in the Caribbean and its inhabitants.

This ignorance of Puerto Rico was also brought home some years later when I was pledging one of the fraternities on the La Crosse campus. Everyone of the fraternity's active members knew that I was born in Puerto Rico and this fact did not seem to make a difference. In their view, I was as unworthy a human being as the rest of my pledge brothers. However, during the Hell Week initiation period, I noticed that a few of the actives were singling me out for special harrassment. It was not unusual for those pledging to be referred to as worms or lice or other ugly, crawling and despicable things. I held the special honor of being labeled a "Taco Vendor" or "Chili Pepper." I recall being angry with the name calling, not because of the literal or figurative meaning but because they were references more appropriate to Mexico than to Puerto Rico. I was annoyed that these individuals did not know enough about Puerto Rico to even insult me properly. More than likely, being called "Plátano Vendor" or "Aji Pepper" would not have made me any happier, but surely it would have given me the satisfaction of knowing that at the very least my tormentors knew something about my background.

Today, hopefully, teachers in classrooms throughout Wisconsin are somewhat better informed than my college chums, most of whom, interestingly enough, were enrolled in the School of Education. Knowing something about the history of Puerto Rico is an important first step for educators who seek to understand the nature of Puerto Ricans and why they behave as they do. Therefore, let me now offer a brief summary of Puerto Rico's history.

The island of Puerto Rico is located about 1,000 miles southeast of the Florida Keys, next to Santo Domingo, in the area of the South Atlantic where the ocean meets the Caribbean Sea. It is the smallest and easternmost island in the chain of islands known as the Greater Antilles, which also includes Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

The more than two and a quarter million Puerto Ricans living on this small island (35 miles wide and 100 miles long) inhabit one of the most crowded spots of the globe. According to the United Nations, it is second only to populous Bangladesh as the most densely populated territory on earth with in excess of 800 persons per square mile. Another million and a half persons of Puerto Rican ancestry reside in the continental United States, with the largest number living in the State of New York. Because of this, New York City earns the distinction of possessing more Puerto Rican inhabitants than any city in Puerto Rico. There are approximately 15,000 Puerto Rican residents of Wisconsin, the vast majority working and living in the city of Milwaukee.

The island, known to the native Taino and Arawak Indians as Borinquen, was christened as "San Juan Bautista" by Christopher Columbus in 1493, during his second voyage of discovery to the new world. Later the island was renamed Puerto Rico, meaning Rich Port, because of the gold that some early Spanish settlers found on the island. The gold mines soon dried up and the island's Spanish population turned to farming instead, particularly to the growing of sugar cane. The large land holdings necessary for a successful sugar cane plantation brought about a concentration of wealth among a few upper class Spanish families. The majority of the general population, which was made up of people of mixed Spanish, Indian and black heritage, lived in conditions of poverty.

Eventually,dissatisfaction with Spanish colonial rule prompted a movement towards independence from the mother country. In 1868, a group of Puerto Rican nationalist leaders demanded an end to Spanish rule and began a rebellion against the colonial power in the town of Lares. The "Grito de Lares," or Lares Revolt, was shortlived and the advocates of independence for Puerto Rico were soon captured or driven into exile. Nevertheless, the hope that Puerto Rico would eventually become a free sovereign nation continued. Finally, in 1897, a measure of self-rule was granted by the Spanish parliament, but the advent of the Spanish American War prevented full implementation of these newly gained autonomous powers. The war between Spain and the United States lasted less than six months and at its conclusion the victorious U.S. won possession of the island.

After a brief period of American military rule, Congress established an island civilian government that was controlled from Washington. Under the terms of the Foraker Act of 1900, both the island's governor and the members of the powerful upper house of the bicameral legislature were to be appointed by the President of the United States. Only the members of the lower house, the House of Delegates, were to be chosen by the voters. In 1917, a new governing structure under the Jones Act declared Puerto Ricans to be citizens of the United States. However, unlike their fellow citizens on the mainland, Puerto Ricans were not granted voting representatives in the Congress of the United States. Instead, the island's special interests were to be voiced by a Resident Commissioner in the House of Representatives, who did not have voting privileges.

Dissatisfaction with the failure of the appointed governors to substantially improve economic conditions in the island along with the pressure of nationalist groups demanding greater political self-determination led to the formation of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The Constitution of the Estado Libre Asociado (Free Associated State of Puerto Rico), which was approved in a public referendum in 1951, created the island's new commonwealth status and gained for Puerto Rico a small measure of sovereignty. Henceforth, all the island's local political leaders were to be chosen by the Puerto Rican people, but participation in national presidential and congressional elections was denied. The special relationship between the island and mainland government took the form of a convenient cooperative which both parties could change upon mutual agreement.

Not everyone is happy with Puerto Rico's commonwealth status. In fact, many Puerto Ricans feel it is merely a disguised form of colonialism. Some would rather have the island become an independent nation, sovereign unto itself, while others would prefer the territory to become a state of the union and to be afforded all the privileges and responsibilities of statehood. The argument over the various alternatives is often very passionate and explosive, at times being proclaimed by acts of violence and disorder.

The violent manifestations of the status controversy has roots in the island's deep economic problems. Puerto Ricans suffer from high rates of unemployment and from low paying jobs, hardships imposed by a consumer economy where nearly 90% of all goods must be imported. Thus, although Puerto Rico is a tropical paradise of great natural beauty and excellent climate, many Puerto Ricans have been forced to leave their island home in search of greater economic opportunity on the continent.

The Puerto Ricans who have migrated to the mainland experience great difficulties. They are primarily proficient in Spanish and must now learn to communicate in English. Many come from the rural areas of Puerto Rico and must learn to adjust to an American urban environment. Relatively few of the migrants have acquired the educational background or training to enable them to obtain jobs in the skilled and professional occupations. Most must accept employment in unskilled, low paying factory or service jobs. The difference in climate is also a hardship. Even lifelong Wisconsin residents still find it difficult to adjust to the midwestern winters. For Puerto Ricans, used to year-around balmy temperatures, the adjustment is even more difficult.

Puerto Ricans, on the whole, tend to be physically distinct from the "northern European model" of an American. Generations of intermarriage among blacks, Indians, and whites on the island have created a colorful spectrum of people. Those who are darker in complexion ("Trigueño") have been the recipients of the same racial prejudice and discrimination that unfortunately has been the sad heritage of other non-white looking people in America. The Puerto Rican experience on the mainland has been one of trying to overcome all these stumbling blocks.

Finally, there is the problem of trying to reconcile the values instilled by one culture while operating in a society defined by the values of another. The norms that Puerto Rican migrants have been taught to live by are not always the same rules that govern correct behavior in the continental United States. Differences in family lifestyles, in definition of roles, and in social expectations tend to cause confusion and hinder understanding among Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans. Migrant children as well as their parents are affected by the strain of learning what are the appropriate, permissible, or desirable ways of conduct in the new environment. In order to help these children adjust to the educational system in Wisconsin, sensitive teachers and school administrators have to understand the cultural factors that contribute to the behavior of Puerto Rican children.

b. Puerto Rican Students Are Not All Alike.

I've stated that the rules of conduct that govern the behavior of Puerto Rican students are learned and influenced by the culture and that all Puerto Rican students by birthright share a common ancestry and access to the same culture. Nevertheless, not all Puerto Rican pupils act alike. These children are not members of a single homogeneous group that exhibits the same uniform cultural traits; they are part of a heterogeneous population and live in a dynamic and changing environment.

There are many reasons why every Puerto Rican child will not act the same, given similar social situations. The extent to which some children have internalized the values of the traditional Puerto Rican culture varies with exposure to other cultures and lifestyles. Children of Puerto Rican parents residing on the mainland are not likely to have fully acquired some of the cultural traits evident in Puerto Rican children just newly arrived from the island. Also, mainland born Puerto Rican children may have adopted many of the values of the dominant English-speaking North American Society, while those born and reared in the island will most likely exhibit behaviors and values much closer to those associated with traditional Puerto Rican culture.

A Puerto Rican's socio-economic status or urban/rural residence also helps determine the acquisition of particular cultural traits. Some of the values of a poor rural Puerto Rican are in many ways more similar to those of a poor black or Appalachian white person than to those of an upper class Puerto Rican living in the San Juan metropolitan area.

Another important element to consider when making broad statements concerning the nature of Puerto Rican culture is the process of cultural change. The traditional culture of Puerto Rico is undergoing change, as the island's relationship with the United States continues to grow. Puerto Rican society for all of this century has been closely interrelated with that of the United States. This proximity and this interchange with the mainland have brought about a number of changes. As a result, many of the values of a few generations ago are less prominent in the Puerto Rico

of today and, in turn, some of the values of the mainland (such as wearing blue jeans and dancing to rock music) are much in evidence in Puerto Rico.

Therefore, the relevance of the cultural traits of Puerto Rican school children that will be identified in this paper must be considered with these factors in mind. Specific reference will be made to particular cultural patterns of behavior of Puerto Rican children, with the understanding that not in all cases (for the reasons previously mentioned) will every Puerto Rican child exhibit the same degree of allegiance to the values that generate those behaviors.

c. Some Puerto Rican Students Behave in Ways That Are Different from Those of American Students.

The following examples of cultural characteristics of Puerto Rican students are not meant as a complete or definite listing, but merely as a number of illustrations to help teachers better understand Puerto Rican students.

1) Punctuality

The concept of time is common to all people. Nearly all human activities are organized along some time framework. Differing notions of the importance of time, in particular the importance of "being on time" or punctual, is frequently the cause for cross-cultural misunderstanding or conflict. For most Puerto Ricans, punctuality is an important attribute in an individual, but it is only a virtue within the context of the situation. I do not know of any Puerto Rican who would purposely be late for a job interview. Yet, this same individual would likely not be overly concerned if s/he arrived a few minutes late for a community or club meeting, or even later for a social rendezvous with a friend. The phenomenon (that some have labeled as "Puerto Rican Time") does not mean that everyone born in Puerto Rico has a genetic propensity for always being late. Puerto Ricans can be on time like everyone else, if they choose to be, but Puerto Rican time is more flexible. It allows each person to select those moments when 8:00 means 8:00 and not 8:10 or 8:15. As a people, we are less inclined to become slaves to the clock and feel that we are its master instead. Some call this attitude "easy-going." I would claim that it is realistic. In actuality, the 11:30 appointment at the medical clinic will not be until much later, and the 8:30 starting time for film at the cinema does not take into account the screening of the previews and coming attractions. Experience has taught us that there are many occasions when 9:00 really means, "some time after nine," or "around nine." We've learned from experience and set our wtaches accordingly. Problems occur when others have a less tolerant concept of time and feel put out when left waiting for us to show up precisely on the dot or even before the appointed time. The following case study helps illustrate this phenomenon.

Pedro is newly arrived from Puerto Rico and in his first year at Eastside High School. The school day opens with a homeroom period that begins at 8:15 a. m. Students are allowed to enter the building through one of four doors that are open starting at 8:00 a. m. The teachers on door duty at the three entrances have been told to close the doors at 8:15 a. m., after which time the only way to enter the school building is through the front entrance, where the personnel at a tardy desk hand out late passes to all late comers. Pedro cannot understand why they close the doors at 8:15 a. m. After all, that is the starting time for the homeroom period, not 8:00 a. m. Pedro could probably make a greater effort to arrive a little earlier, but, in his mind, homeroom is really not all that important. After all, it's not like if he were late for a regular class where he gets a grade, and which counts towards credits for graduation. But Pedro's teachers are, of course, of a different opinion. To them, it is important for him to show up in homeroom on time every morning.

The different views of the concept of time and punctuality are illustrated by the language used to describe these concepts. An English speaker would say "the clock is running out" to describe the momentum of time passing. In Puerto Rico, one would express the passing of time in Spanish as "el reloj anda," or "time is walking." The idea expressed is the same in both Spanish and English, but the subtle psychological message is that Puerto Rican time is less hurried, slower; in other words,in Puerto Rico even the clock takes its time ticking away the hours. Continental and Puerto Rican time are not exactly viewed the same and, because of this, the practice of being on time also differs between both cultures.

These differing notions of time often come into direct conflict in the school. Schools are places that are governed by the clock. A high premium is placed on being on time to school and not being late for classes. When students fail to meet these expectations, conflict is often the result as illustrated by the experience of Pedro's teachers who became frustrated and sometimes lost their patience with him and the other students who were late to their classes. But I know many students do not think some cases are as important as others; thus, they are less compelled to satisfy their teachers by coming on time.

2) Modesty

Puerto Rican females, no matter their age, feel very uncomfortable in situations that call for them to disrobe or reveal too much of their bodies in public. Traditional Puerto Rican culture teaches young women to be very modest. By mainland standards, some Puerto Rican females might even appear extremely inhibited. For example, even though Puerto Rico boasts of a warm tropical climate, it is still relatively unusual to see many women walking down the street in shorts. Invariably, most of the bikini clad women one sees on

the public beaches in Puerto Rico are likely to be tourists, not natives, and, even in their modest one piece bathing suits, many women still prefer to wrap a towel around their waist while strolling on the beach.

This value placed on modesty has sometimes been misunderstood by teachers, who think the main reason that some Puerto Rican students do not like their Physical Education classes is that they are not athletically inclined. If you were to ask these pupils why they don't like their gym class, as many school counselors have done, the reply from the students is that they don't like to take showers. The Puerto Rican girls are not expressing a dislike for cleanliness, but, instead, discomfort with having to take their clothes off and showering naked in full view of other students. These students are caught in the dilemma of obeying the school rules and keeping harmony with their cultural values.

3) Politeness

If you have lived in Puerto Rico, you have been taught that politeness is next to godliness. Being polite to other people is very important, especially to persons in positions of authority, such as parents, teachers and other adults. So, for children, being polite is an important personal characteristic. This value is expressed in the language. One of the greatest compliments a parent can receive is for someone to say that their son or daughter is "un (una) joven bien educado(a)." A direct translation would be "your son (daughter) is well educated," but that is not really the correct meaning. What is meant is that the child is well behaved, that s/he has good manners, that s/he has been correctly taught how to act politely and show respect for elders. In the Puerto Rican Hispanic culture "to be well educated" implies more than mere book learning; it means knowledge of the rules of courtesy and good deportment.

In school, this value for politeness is manifested in behaviors that appear strange and perhaps even irritating to some non-Puerto Ricans. I recall an example from my own school days when I was one of the editors to our school newspapers. One day we worked until well after school, trying to prepare our latest edition for the printers. When we had finished, our faculty advisor asked me if I wanted a ride home. I very much wanted to say "yes" to his offer; not only was it late, but I had no desire to wait around in the cold waiting to catch the bus. But I said "no," because I was taught that you show good manners by refusing a favor initially. Only after you've been asked several times, do you finally accept. My teacher kept insisting and only after I felt that I had played the game long enough, did I finally, in great relief, say "yes" to the lift home. The conversation in the car consisted mostly of my apologizing to our faculty advisor for having inconvenienced him by accepting his offer for a ride which probably made him go out of his way and not get home until much later himself. What I remember most is what

occurred at the end of the ride. As I stepped out of the car and again thanked him for his kindness, chastizing myself as the source of his inconvenience for the umpteenth time, he said, "Goodbye" and then added "You know, Fermín, the problem with you people is that you're overly polite," and he sped off. I had to wait until much later for the meaning of that small incident to become clear to me. Being polite is no crime; but to others, strangers to the rules of Puerto Rican good manners, some of our actions appear stiff, ultra formal and overbearing.

4) Sex roles

Puerto Rican women are still very much the victims of a double standard that restricts them to an inferior position to men. Child-rearing patterns reflect this point of view of female inferiority. Young girls, for example, are more closely supervised than boys. They are carefully watched because they are thought to be naturally weak and more submissive than boys. Boys, on the other hand, are loosely supervised; they are given more independence and are expected to be more aggressive. This double standard is illustrated by the expression "lo criaron como una niña," which means "he was raised like a girl." I recall a parent saying that to me during a parent-teacher conference to explain her success with her son, who was a top student. The son, who was also present, winced in clear embarrassment and shame when his mother told me that she was raising him like a girl.

The differing sexual expectations are also manifested in the Puerto Rican institution of el noviazco. El noviazco is a formal courtship period that usually precedes the young couple's marriage, and involves visits by the boy to the girl's home where they can be observed and watched by a chaperon. Although the chaperoning tradition is growing weaker in Puerto Rico, the assumptions which gave rise to it are still strong. Chaperoning was primarily designed to limit the opportunities for the couple to engage in premarital sex. The lack of trust in the couple's ability to exercise self restraint stemmed from the expectation that the boy, guided by his natural desires, would seek sexual satisfaction while the weak-willed girl would be unable to resist the male's advances and would meekly acquiesce. Chaperoning was a tradition fostered by mistrust and stereotyping of the two sexes.

In school, the effects of the difference in childrearing practices for boys and girls are manifested in many ways. Since school is probably one of the very few places where boys and girls can get together away from the watchful eye of their parents (especially the girls), the students often seek to make the most of this brief moment of freedom. They engage in displays of mutual affection that they well know would not be tolerated at home.

Another way these differing sexual mores are exhibited in school is the way boys and girls react to male and female teachers. There

is often no problem with the student-teacher relationship as long as the teacher behaves as expected, but problems often occur when the behavior exhibited by the teacher is not what is defined as appropriate by the cultural norms. A female teacher who, in the student's view, appears to be very aggressive and bossy, or a male teacher, who appears effeminate, will have problems with their students. In traditional Puerto Rican society,sex roles are strictly differentiated and more precisely defined than in other cultures. As a consequence,behavior that contradicts these norms is less tolerated. Puerto Rican students often react very negatively to teachers who transmit these contradictory gender signals.

5) Socializing

Some teachers have told me that, in contrast to their other classes, their classes with Puerto Rican pupils tend to be much noisier and more active. They claim that the Puerto Rican students seem to want to talk and socialize with their peers and move about the classroom with a greater frequency than they observe in other students. These classes are particularly troublesome for those teachers whose teaching style requires that the children exhibit more passive and quieter standards of classroom behavior.

Socialization practices that encourage the development of specific social and human relations skills might be responsible for these characteristics. Puerto Rican mothers foster in their children a desire to be with people. Skills including getting along with others and participating with others in common endeavors are important human relations skills that are emphasized by parents. Solitude, on the whole, should be avoided and children should need to associate with others and want to participate in group activities. A Puerto Rican who appears to be lonesome or feel lonely is often described as "se ve triste," or "he looks sad." The implication is that the individual is unhappy because he lacks the companionship and support he needs from others.

Another reason to explain the talkative behavior that is so irritating to teachers might be concerned with the students' learning style. Researchers, investigating how children develop ways to perceive and make meaning of their environment, have suggested that a relationship exists between the mother's childrearing practices and the child's preferred mode of learning. Thus, a Puerto Rican mother's desire to instill certain social attributes in her children, such as a value for collective activities, has had an effect on that child's liking for a particular learning style. These scientists have labeled the cognitive learning style that seems to be exhibited by many Puerto Rican pupils (and other Hispanic background children) as Field Dependent or Field Sensitive. These researchers have found differences between these pupils and other pupils who demonstrate a preference for the contrasting Field Independent cognitive learning style. If

we accept these research findings, we then have some additional reasons for explaining why it is that some teachers find their Puerto Rican pupils somewhat more boisterous and active in comparison to other students.

Field Sensitive (Dependent) and Field Independent students can be identified by the different ways in which they process information and draw understanding from their experiences. According to educational psychologists who have studied both patterns of learning, Field Sensitive or Field Dependent children tend to:

-organize and see their experiences in terms of wholes or totalities.
-give more importance to persons rather than things.
-give greater attention to their social environment.
-exhibit greater sensitivity to others and to how they are perceived by others.
-prefer to work in groups rather than in isolation.

Field Independent learners on the other hand are characterized by the following attributes:

-tend to be less influenced by their immediate surroundings.
-compartmentalize experience into the parts that make up the whole.
-are less sensitive to the social environment.
-prefer tasks that require individual endeavor.

These differences among Field Sensitive and Field Independent learners can be illustrated by how Spanish background and English background students describe the world around them. Ask a Puerto Rican child to describe what someone in class is wearing and he would say something like "un traje rojo" or "a dress red." In contrast, the English speaker would place the adjective before the noun and respond with,"a red dress." The important thing to note is not the grammatical differences, but the manner in which the language (a cultural trait) expresses how they view and describe the things surrounding them. In the Puerto Rican Hispanic world, the observer sees the overall context first - the dress,in our illustration - and then the eye focuses on the detail, the fact that the item is colored red. In contrast, the English speaker responds first to the detail or the part of the whole that tells him that it is a red dress. Field Dependent and Field Independent observers view their world differently, one concentrates on the parts of the whole while the other focuses on the total picture.

The important thing for the teacher to remember is that when Puerto Rican children show a propensity for getting together with other students and conversing in class, they should not immediately come to the conclusion that this behavior implies willful disrespect or an inborn lack of self discipline in the students. It can, instead, mean that, because of the way these students have been reared, they

have a tendency to behave in ways that show greater sensitivity to the people that make up their total social environment.

Does this mean that Puerto Rican pupils now have an excuse to speak out of turn and disrupt a classroom at will by in effect claiming "Well, it's not my fault, I can't control my cultural drive to be sociable."? Clearly the answer is "no." In order to accomplish the task assigned to them, teachers have to insist on some minimum rules of behavior and decorum in their classroom. But they also have to acknowledge the necessity of giving their students some opportunity to satisfy their need to interact with the people close to them. What is needed is some degree of flexibility in the teacher to allow some classroom tasks to be done collectively, and enable students to socialize while they work.

Finally, with socializing behaviors as well as the other culturally derived behaviors of Puerto Rican children that have been discussed in this paper, the message to teachers of Puerto Rican children is the same. In order to maximize their effectiveness, these teachers need to understand the background of their students. They need to be sensitive to the child's culture and show understanding and display the flexibility necessary that will enable these students to get the full benefit of the educational experience. By sharing some of these insights into the culture of Puerto Rican children, I trust I have helped in the attainment of this goal.

--Fermín Burgos

F. LIST OF AVAILABLE TAPES AND SUGGESTED READINGS REGARDING HISPANIC STUDENTS --Constance K. Knop

1. Available tapes

a. El Trovador, Videotape # 7396 (25 mins., color)
Producer: The Arts Development, U. of Wis. Extension, UW-Milwaukee.

In this tape, a Puerto Rican "trobador" (troubadour) describes his experiences in coming to America and the balance he tries to maintain between assimilation and maintenance of his ethnicity. He also discusses the importance of the role of the "trovador" (or "troubadour") as a representative of the cultural heritage of Puerto Rico and as a voice of concern for the people regarding current social problems.

Follow-up discussion may focus on:

1) a comparison of the role of the Puerto Rican "trovador" and the troubadour in European history.

2) the importance of musical expression as an outlet for people's unhappiness and dissatisfaction with their lives and/or with society. Are there current examples of American songs that carry out these functions? What are some sources of unhappiness and dissatisfaction that are referred to in the "trovadores'" songs in this tape?

3) the role of songs as a vehicle for handing down, from generation to generation, the re-telling of historical events,and for expressing cultural values (e.g., examples of sea chanties, songs of the "old west," spirituals, etc.). What are some of the events or values referred to in the "trovadores'" songs in this tape?

b. Mexicans in Milwaukee, Videotape # 7397 (45 mins., color), Producer: Dr. Judith T. Guskin.

This video documentary was made as part of a study of bilingual education in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Its purpose is to record community cultural events, and to highlight the historical and symbolic role bilingual education has played in the past decade in Milwaukee. An initial segment, using old photographs, provides basic information about the migration history of Mexicans to the city, and briefly indicates that bilingual education was initiated by community activists concerned with the development of their community during the 1960's. Community members, many of whom were active in the initiation of the bilingual education program, express in their own words why they feel bilingual education is important, and how they feel about maintaining their cultural identity and language in an urban environment in which Hispanics make up only 4.1% of the population. A brief segment shows the school which was the focus of the Bilingual Education Community Study on the Southside of the city. This area is the city's most compact Hispanic area; over half of the Hispanics live here.

Little research has been done on Hispanics in the Midwest, although over a million live in this part of the country. It is hoped that this documentary will communicate, in ways that print materials cannot, what life is like for the people who live here. We see them participating in a traditional Mexican wedding, conducted in Spanish, which uses the lasso and other traditional symbols, sharing food and family and togetherness during an annual festival sponsored by the church which has the largest Mexican membership, participating in a Fiesta specifically planned to encourage Anglo participation as well as Hispanic participation, marching and judging floats during the largest community-wide activity - the annual September 16th Mexican Independence Day Parade, - teaching and learning in a bilingual program that spans kindergarten through 6th grade, and talking at home about education and aspirations.

The following issues are appropriate for discussion:

1) Most Anglos do not know the history of Hispanics in the area and think of them as newcomers, and often as migrants. They are unaware of culturally oriented activities that are part of the local history of Hispanics, the importance of family networks which link people to relatives in other cities on the U.S. mainland as well as with Puerto Rico and Mexico, and the direct labor recruitment practiced by local industry. Why is this true?

2) Language patterns do change over time, and different age groups and generations living in a city reflect different

patterns of language use. Language attitudes are not simple, and cannot be assumed to be directly equivalent to observations of current language use. What do you see in the documentary, and what do people say, that can give you some idea of language use and attitudes? (Remember, however, that most of the respondants were interviewed by English speakers except for a few segments for which the interviewers were bilingual.)

3) Keeping one's cultural identity means that one feels a part of a community and has a positive attitude toward the values and customs that make up life in the community. How do the people in this documentary feel about keeping their cultural identity? What factors do they mention that may produce changes among the younger population's sense of cultural identity, and what factors seem to connect children to their community? What cultural values and customs are mentioned or shown in the film?

4) What impressions do you get about bilingual education in this school and why? Focusing on the bilingual teachers, what are they doing and saying that might lead you to see congruence or lack of congruence between the teachers' behaviors and the language and cultural background of their students? What might be implied by the way language is taught and spoken in this very brief segment? (Keep in mind that this is, indeed, just a glimpse into these classrooms.)

5) We see a family at home in the documentary. This family has come to the city fairly recently from Mexico. We see the father, mother, children, and grandmother and they discuss with their daughter's teacher schooling, early marriage, and aspirations for their daughter who is in the bilingual program. What impressions do you get from this brief segment?

2. Suggested Readings and Sources of Information

The footnotes and references at the end of each section in Part III are useful sources for supplementary reading about Hispanic students' cultural backgrounds and educational needs. In addition, the following materials and agencies provide helpful information about Hispanic students:

a. Office of Communication and Publications, The Center for Applied Linguistics, 3520 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. This agency publishes many informative brochures and books dealing with bilingual education and needs of Hispanic students. A free catalogue, listing publications, will be sent on request. The following items will serve as examples of available materials:

1) Andrew D. Cohen et al., Evaluating Evaluation, examines issues involved in assessing oral language, reading, and language use skills in bilingual classrooms. 1979, $5.75.

2) Manuel Ramirez et al., Spanish-English Bilingual Education in the U.S.: Current Issues, Resources, and Research Priorities, reports on the issues. 1977, $4.50.

3) Muriel Saville-Troike, Bilingual Children: A Resource Document, discusses their linguistic diversity and provides profiles of bilingual children. 1975, $5.00.

4) Muriel R. Saville and Rudolph C. Troike, A Handbook of Bilingual Education, is a basic review of the important facts to consider when implementing a program. 1973, $3.75.

5) Richard V. Teschner et al., Spanish and English of United States Hispanos: A Critical, Annotated, Linguistic Bibliography. 1975, $8.95.

b. Gannett Newspapers and Broadcast Stations deal with issues involving Hispanics in the United States. Together with Michigan State University, they have launched a study of communication behavior and attitudes of Hispanic-Americans. For more information, write: Gannett, Lincoln Tower, Rochester, New York 14604.

c. For information on Mexico and Puerto Rico, contact:

1) Mexican Tourism Council, 409 Park Ave., Suite 1002, New York, New York 10022.

2) Puerto Rico Tourism Co., 1290 Ave. of the Americas, New York, New York 10019

d. Midwest National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center (Consultants: Anthony Gradisnik and Olga Eccher), Helping Schools

Design and Develop Bilingual Education Programs (Milwaukee, Wis.: School of Education, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 1981), 117 pages. This volume describes a variety of approaches for organizing a bilingual program and for developing curriculum for such a program.

e. Miller, J. Dale and Russell H. Bishop, U.S.A. - Mexico Culture Capsules (Rowley, Mass.: Newburry House, 1974). The authors compare and contrast American and Mexican behavior and beliefs regarding a variety of topics.

f. Morris, Marshall, Saying and Meaning in Puerto Rico: Some Problems in the Ethnography of Discourse (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980). This book is an interesting study in the areas of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics.

g. National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1300 Wilson Road, Suite B 2-11, Rosslyn, Virginia 22209. This agency offers a free newsletter, Forum, that covers recent developments and issues in bilingual education. It also publishes topical bibliographies and studies, such as:

1) The Acquisition of Spanish Grammar by Native Spanish-Speaking Children by Gustavo González (1978). $3.50.

2) Bibliography of Resources in Bilingual Education: Curricular Materials (1980). $4.00.

3) Cognitive Styles: An Annotated Bibliography by James A. Vásquez and Tobias M. Gonzáles (1981). $2.50.

4) Counseling and Minorities: A Bibliography by James A. Vásquez and Clotilde Gold (1981). $5.50.

5) Desegregation and Hispanic Students: A Community Perspective by Tony Baéz, Ricardo R. Fernández, and Judith T. Guskin (1980). $3.50.

6) The Education of the Mexican-American: A Selected Bibliography by Mario A Benítez and Lupita G. Villarreal (1979). $9.50.

7) FOCUS, No. 1: "Bilingual Education: A Close Look at Its Effects" by Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt (1979). No charge single copy.

8) FOCUS, No. 2: "Implications for U.S. Bilingual Education: Evidence from Canadian Research," by G. Richard Tucker (1980). No charge single copy.

9) FOCUS, No. 5: "The Social Psychology of Language: A Perspective for the 1980's" by Wallace E. Lambert (1981). No charge single copy.

10) A Guide to Culture in the Classroom by Muriel Saville-Troike (1978). $4.50.

11) Guide to Materials for English as a Second Language (1981). $5.50.

12) Guide to Publishers and Distributors Serving Minority Languages (1980). $4.50.

13) Language in the Process of Cultural Assimilation and Structural Incorporation of Linguistic Minorities by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1979). $2.75.

14) Reading in the Bilingual Classroom: Literacy and Biliteracy by Kenneth Goodman, Yetta Goodman, and Barbara Flores (1979 . $3.50.

15) Research Evidence for the Effectiveness of Bilingual Education by Rudolph C. Troike (1978). $1.50.

16) Second Language Learning among Young Children: A Bibliography of Research (1981). $7.10.

17) Special Education Needs in Bilingual Programs by Victoria Bergin (1980). $3.00.

18) Testing and Ethnic Minority Students: An Annotated Bibliography by James A. Vásquez, Sandra E. Gonzáles, and Mary E. Pearson (1981). $3.00.

19) Towards Quality in Bilingual Education/Bilingual Education in the Integrated School by Josué M. Gonzáles (1979). $3.50.

20) Working with the Bilingual Community (1979). $4.50.

h. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Badger History: Hispanics in Wisconsin, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (Jan. 1980). Available for $1.00 from State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State St., Madison, Wis. 53706. In just 49 pages, this booklet gives a useful and concise description of Puerto Rico and Mexico, the movement of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans to the U.S.A., and their settling in Wisconsin. It is clearly and simply written so that elementary school children, both native speakers and those with limited English proficiency, can understand and profit from the information.

i. The Materials Center, WISCONSIN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS, contains a variety of self-contained units dealing with many aspects of Hispanic culture. While these units were prepared primarily for teachers of the Spanish language, the information is equally useful for other classroom teachers who interact with Hispanic students. The following units serve as examples of the available materials:

TITLE & DESCRIPTION	Member Price	Non-Member Price
1) Buen Provecho. Mexican foods and eating customs; contains a number of learning activities. (Sandra Bennett, Jane Chatelaine, Sister Joan Hinz, O.P., Deborah Johnson - Foreign Language Workshop, Dr. Theodore Rose, U.W.-Madison - supervised by Dr. Frank Grittner, Wisconsin Dept. of Public Instruction, August 1973). 106 pp. (62 slides)	10.00	12.75
2) A Comparison of Newspapers in U.S. and Mexico. Examination and comparison of items appearing in newspapers of Wichita, Kansas and Mexico City; create awareness of similarities in lifestyles in Mexico City and Wichita. Level: III. (Helen E. Hiebert, Wichita State Univ., June 1976) 30 pp.	3.00	3.60
3) Dating. A cross-cultural cluster on dating of French, Spanish and American youth; presented in English. Level: I. (Terri Ramey, French; Kathleen Hedrick, Spanish; under Prof. C. Knop, For. Lang. Cultural Workshop, June 1976) 7pp.	.70	.85
4) Gestos Típicos Españoles. Recognize and reproduce Spanish gestures. Level: I - 7th grade. 14 pp.	1.40	1.70
5) Los Apellidos Españoles. Teach correct, complete names and their source. Level: I - adaptable for junior high, senior high or college. (Marilyn Bierling, Workshop on Teaching Culture in a For. Lang. Classroom, Wichita State Univ., June 1976) 10 pp.	1.00	1.25
6) Men-Women. Dating customs among Mexican teen-agers, and the relative status and role of men and women in Mexico; vocabulary and insight into social relationships; Level: any. (LaVerla Cooley, Wichita, Kansas, 1976) 29 pp.	2.90	3.50

7) Mexican Murals. A perspective on Mexico's history; assumed is knowledge of stem-changing verbs, reflexive and object pronouns, and present tense. Level: 8th grade and fourth semester. (Paul Sandrock, C & I, Summer workshop, 1977 under Prof. Constance Knop, U.W.-Madison). 33 pp. (45 slides/$7.65) 3.30 4.00

8) Presentaciones - Saludos - Despedidas. Physical communication and its relation to certain social situations; introduce student to physical, linguistic expressions and explain differences and similarities between the two cultures. Level: Beginning. (Deborah L. Johnson, C & I 630, U.W.-Madison, July 1975, under Prof. Constance Knop). 17pp. 1.70 2.05

9) Puerto Rico. Introduction to cultural elements, folktales, cuisine, language, etc. Level: II. (Carla Uribe, C & I 630, under Prof. Constance Knop, August 1977). 23 pp. (65 slides/$11.05) 2.30 2.75

10) The Spanish Newspaper. 13 culture capsules meant to create an effective awareness of aspects peculiar to Hispanic culture; articles and grammar parts. Level: II & IV - adaptable to lower levels. (Lon H. Glaznap, The Teaching of Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom, July 1975, under Prof. Constance Knop). 54 pp. 5.40 5.50

11) The Use of the Double Surname in Spanish-Speaking Countries. Help understand custom of the double surname; explanation and exercises. Level: Beginning. 10pp. 1.00 1.20

12) Vamos A Leer El Periódico. Sections of Spanish newspapers such as political news, sports, weather, entertainment, cartoons and advertisements in order to familiarize with present, past and future tense. Level: III. 28 pp. 2.80 3.35

To order these materials, send a list of the desired titles and

a check to cover costs to: Prof. Mark Seiler
WAFTL Materials Center
UW-Stevens point
Stevens Point, Wis. 54481

k. "Is Puerto Rico a Colony?" by Tom Wicker, Wisconsin State Journal, Aug. 19, 1981.

In his 1980 campaign, Ronald Reagan promised to take the lead in obtaining statehood for Puerto Rico.

The promise was abandoned, and the administration faces the embarassing possibility the UN General Assembly will declare the island one of the world's few remaining colonies and demand something be done about it.

A resolution urging self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico came before the UN Decolonization Committee this week. That happens every year but this year:

-Puerto Rican and Third World sponsors are wording the resolution so as to cause the issue to be referred, for the first time, to the General Assembly.

-The administration's political and budget policies toward Puerto Rico have lent much weight to the argument that the commonwealth is, indeed, a colony with little or no control over its own affairs.

That was reflected in a resolution of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, urging the referral of the island's political status to the General Assembly. The San Juan Star reported the resolution had been written by a 17-member committee that included representatives of all "status ideologies" - statehood, independence or commonwealth with more autonomy. All agreed that Puerto Rico was a colony that must be decolonized.

Such developments hardly seemed likely during the 1980 campaign. The day he announced his candidacy, Reagan included statehood for the island in his proposal for a "North American Accord." In a Wall Street Journal article, he pledged he "would take the lead in persuading the people of Puerto Rico, the mainland United States, all citizens - that statehood will be good for all of us."

The platform also declared the party "vigorously" supported statehood, including provisions for the islanders to retain Spanish as their official language and to "assume gradually" the burden of federal taxation.

That position - itself considered "annexationist" by some anti-statehood Puerto Ricans - sharply differed from the Carter

administration's policy and the Democratic platform, which pledged self-determination and promised to support whatever status Puerto Ricans chose in a referendum. A 1980 congressional resolution took the same position.

In November, Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló, a strong statehood supporter, barely won re-election and had to abandon his plan for a referendum. Reagan took office in January. But not only has nothing since been heard from the White House about statehood, the administration also went after the island's budget with a meat-ax.

The most severe blow came when Puerto Rico's food stamp allocation was cut by 25 percent, in a manner not applied to the states, despite the fact 58 percent of the island's families had been receiving food stamps, and high food costs reduce the stamps' buying power. About 400,000 Puerto Ricans will be affected by the food stamp cuts of about $90 million a year.

Puerto Rico's per-capita income is half that of Mississippi and even the official unemployment rate is 18 percent - far less than the actual. Thus, the elimination of CETA jobs also hit Puerto Rico a body blow.

Cuts in other social and economic programs were applied to the island just as to the states, with no recognition of its different and deeper economic problems - an irony, in view of the special food stamp cut for Puerto Rico alone. The commonwealth's loss of federal assistance could come to $650 million.

The administration even announced on March 11, that it had frozen $13.1 million in loans to Puerto Rican firms. Reagan has come out strongly against bilingual education, funds for which were cut.

On the morning of the day the president was shot, a delegation of Puerto Rican Republicans called on him to plead in desperation for a "special economic transition package." Nothing came of the plea, and on June 12, one of the delegation - former Gov. Luis Ferré - declared that "only when Puerto Rico equates the economy of the states will we be in a position to ask for statehood."

Puerto Rico's nonvoting representative to Congress, Baltasar Corrada del Rio, has warned that the economic blows to Puerto Rico will damage the administration's efforts to develop a credible foreign policy in the Caribbean and Latin America.

The Reagan policies have demonstrated, moreover, Washington's vast power over Puerto Rico, and dramatized the island's inability to make vital economic and political decisions for itself. The General Assembly, and a lot of honest Americans, are likely to consider that colonial status.

3. Samples of Classroom Teaching of English to Hispanic Students

a. Asking for Directions, Videotape #6453 (45 min., color), Teacher: Ann Niedermeier.

This is a demonstration of teaching a dialogue to intermediate students. Because the students already have reading skills, the dialogue is not taught entirely through listening and speaking, as is usual with beginning students. Instead, the students begin by reading about the dialogue. The teacher explains new vocabulary (both prior to the reading and during the reading experience) through a variety of techniques.

1) 000-471 The teacher first presents the general topic of the dialogue and sets the situation. Then she does a sentence by sentence reading, asking for synonyms or antonyms, using pictures from her "map" to clarify and check meaning, making personal references to students and their community--all to clarify and check comprehension of the sentences and vocabulary. After each sentence, she calls for group and individual reading, first right after her and then on their own. At the end, students stand in front of the room and read the dialogue, role-playing parts.

2) 471-end In the second segment, the following activities occur:

a) The teacher reviews the dialogue for several purposes:

(1) for individual reading to focus on pronunciation and intonation;

(2) for questioning to check students' comprehension;

(3) for role-playing by students.

b) Then she extends the dialogue into the manipulation and personalizing phases: she asks the students to slot in different vocabulary items into a dialogue sentence (e.g., "I'm looking for _____ [in dialogue, 'the library']"--students are asked to look at the map and put other words into that part of the sentence).

c) After guided exercises like this, the students then role-play, asking each other for directions for any location they wish to choose.

Suggested Discussion Questions:

1) How can dialogue learning lead to personalized and "free" expression?

2) Discuss the differences between teaching a dialogue to beginning students vs. teaching one to advanced students.

3) What techniques are used to establish the meaning of utterances and drill pronunciation?

4) What are the advantages of beginning a dialogue drill by <u>reading</u> it? What problems might be expected? Is this approach appropriate for beginning students? Why or why not?

5) Comment on the value of having a large, overall visual (here, the map) plus separate specific visuals apart from the large one. Effective here or not?

6) Discuss the relative advantage of teaching vocabulary items <u>before</u> beginning the dialogue <u>vs</u>. teaching vocabulary <u>while</u> doing the dialogue practice.

7) What techniques does the teacher use to explicate new vocabulary items? (Give specific examples.) Effective or not? Why?

8) Refer to questions from the simulated class, "Doing a Worksheet."

<u>ASKING FOR DIRECTIONS</u>

1. _____ a) Hi! Are you lost?

2. _____ b) Yes, I'm looking for the public library.

3. _____ a) That's just around the corner.

_____ b) Can you give me directions?

_____ a) Yes, it's easy. Go one block straight ahead and then turn right.

6. _____ b) What? Sorry, I don't understand.

7. _____ a) Go one block straight ahead and then turn right.

8. _____ b) That helps a lot. Thanks.

9. _____ a) Sure...anytime.

NAME: _____

DATE: _____

HOMEWORK - ASKING FOR DIRECTIONS

Answer the following questions according to the dialogue we read, and the vocabulary words we talked about in class.

1. Is someone lost?

_____

2. What is she looking for?

_____

3. What do you get at the public library?

_____

4. Where is the public library?

_____

5. Is it easy or hard to find?

_____

6. Does she understand the directions the first time?

_____

7. Does she repeat the directions?

_____

8. Does she understand the directions the second time?

_____

b. Taking a Bus, Videotape #6138 (35 min., color),
Teacher: Ann Niedermeier.

This is a demonstration of a Gouin series activity. In a Gouin series, students learn the appropriate physical behavior and the verbalization of a series of sentences to carry out a given situation. In this way, language and physical actions reinforce each other's meaning. In addition, students learn how to behave and what to say in a given situation through doing and saying the actions. Classroom situations, curriculum content, and cultural events may be taught effectively through Gouin series and, also, straight lecturing may be avoided by the teacher.

In this tape, the students are learning the appropriate actions needed to take a bus as well as the necessary vocabulary for carrying out that activity.

Sentences in the Gouin Series, "Taking a Bus"

I'm looking at the bus schedule.

I'm waiting for the bus.

I'm reading the sign (on the bus).

I'm getting on the bus.

I'm paying my fare.

I'm sitting down.

I'm getting off the bus.

I'm looking for the right stop.

1) 000-298 TODAY WE'RE GOING TO TALK ABOUT TAKING THE BUS. WHERE COULD YOU GO ON THE BUS? (have students respond with a few possibilities.) YOU'LL LEARN SOME NEW WORDS AND ACT OUT SOME SENTENCES. HERE ARE SOME OF THE WORDS. (T. presents and drills a few key vocabulary items--schedule, bus stop, sign, fare.)

2) 299-336 LISTEN AND WATCH CAREFULLY. IN A FEW MINUTES I'M GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT YOU WILL NOW SEE AND HEAR. (T. acts out entire sequence, then asks a few general comprehension questions; then acts out sequence again with frequent stops for comprehension checks.)

3) 337-391 GOOD LISTENING! NOW YOU'RE GOING TO SAY THE SENTENCES AND ACT THEM OUT. (T. drills first sentence. Ss listen, then repeat both words and actions, in groups and as individuals.)

ALL RIGHT! YOU'RE REALLY LEARNING FAST. NOW LET'S WORK ON THE SECOND SENTENCE. (Same drill procedures, using different techniques to speed up the practice.)

O.K. EVERYBODY TRY TO SAY THE TWO SENTENCES NOW. DON'T FORGET TO DO THE ACTIONS. (group and then individual repetitions of the pair of sentences, with appropriate actions.)

SUPER! YOU'RE DOING SO WELL...DOES ANYBODY REMEMBER THE NEXT SENTENCE? (T. acts it out and then drill proceeds as above. All three sentences are put together after students do well on the third one.)

FINE. THE NEXT ONE IS "I'm getting on the bus." (The fourth sentence is drilled along and then all four are put together. One student acts out the sentences while everyone says them all, as a summary.)

4) THAT'S ENOUGH FOR TODAY. WE DID A LOT OF WORK. PRACTICE THOSE SENTENCES AT HOME AND TOMORROW WE'LL LEARN A FEW MORE. MAYBE LATER IN THE WEEK WE CAN GO TO THE BUS STOP ON THE CORNER AND TAKE A BUS SOMEWHERE. WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE TO GO? AND WHAT IS YOUR HOMEWORK FOR TOMORROW?

Suggested Discussion Questions, "Taking a Bus"

1) Discuss the motivational techniques used by the teacher. How does she encourage students to want to learn the Gouin series? Is it just her attitude--her rewards--her application of the sentences to their daily lives?

2) She continually encourages the students to do the actions while they say the sentences. Is this necessary? What is the purpose--or value--of insisting on this?

3) This teacher presents some of the vocabulary items for comprehension and drills BEFORE the students begin the Gouin series. Why might this be an effective procedure? Shouldn't the vocabulary be taught in the context of an entire sentence? Does she, in fact, enrich the meaning of the words by using sentences and situations?

4) In addition to actions, different ways of establishing comprehension are used. Name and evaluate several (e.g., drawing of the bus, actual objects--fare box and real money, chair for a seat, personal references to the cost of the fare and name of bus they use, emotive quality--I'm waiting for the bus, etc.). Why is it important to use a variety of techniques/visuals to reinforce meaning?

5) The teacher not only establishes comprehension of vocabulary and the sentences. She checks to see if the students do, in fact, understand her explanations. Name some specific techniques or examples of how she does this.

6) The teacher sets sentence 1 and then sentence 2; THEN she practices the two of them together. What is the value of this sequence?

7) She usually begins with choral repetition of sentences and then goes to individuals; however, she often calls for choral work after individual responses too. Why? (Discuss: keeping group involved; going to group when individual has made error so (s)he can practice but not be embarassed; getting maximum practice with lots of choral work but not all in one block of time, etc.)

8) Because these sentences are brand new and will serve as base sentences for pattern practices and vocabulary work, they must be well learned--even memorized. Using the questions from the Gouin series on "Going to the Board" (question 7, a-f), discuss how this teacher tries to avoid boredom in her students. Is she successful or not? How do you know?

c. Intonation and Emotion Drill, Videotape #6452 (25 min., color), Teacher: Ann Niedermeier.

Because emotion and intonation are important means of conveying meaning in a language, this lesson focuses on making students aware of the contrast in intonation, emotion, and stress used in English when making a statement and when making an exclamation. The over-all goals of the lesson are to encourage the students to add more emotional quality to their speech and to speak more loudly in English.

Sentences worked on:

I'm looking for the library.

Watch out for that car!

I'm waiting for the bus.

Be careful!

I don't understand.

Leave me alone.

Sentences on the board:

I'm looking for the library.

Watch out for that car.

Diagram of sentence intonation pattern also on board.

OUTLINE OF ACTIVITIES

1) Listening discrimination phase.

   a) 618-630 Students analyze a statement and an exclamation to discover where the stress and intonation patterns fall--and to contrast the emotive quality of each one.

   b) 631-650 Teacher reads a mixture of statements and exclamations with students telling her what each one is and why.

2) Oral production phase (reading sentences aloud):

   a) 651-677 Students differentiate statement and exclamation, using punctuation marks as guide.

   b) 678-717 Students repeat sentences chorally after teacher.

   c) 718-739 Students work in small-groups to practice sentences.

   d) 740-end Students read sentences individually.

ANALYSIS OF INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES

1) By means of diagrams on the board and several sentences said by her, the teacher elicits from the students that one's voice goes down at the end of an English statement or exclamation and that the last word in the sentence is usually the important, emphasized one. She then asks them to listen to the difference in loudness and emotion between a statement and an exclamation. Sample sentences on the board are read by her and by students for intonation and emotive practice and also to note the end punctuation for a statement and exclamation.

2) Then she presents a listening discrimination drill, mixing statement with exclamations. The students tell her which one each sentence is-and why it is an exclamation or statement (to avoid random guessing and to reinforce the generalization). Several times she puts the exclamation into the context of a real situation: e.g., "when would you say, 'Leave me alone'?" or "There's a car coming. Tell me to watch out for the car." This reinforces the meaning of the specific exclamation and the general reasons why one would use them. She continually encourages the students to say the exclamations more loudly and with real feeling.

3) The students receive a worksheet which contains a mix of statements and exclamations. The students first differentiate the exclamations from the statements by looking at the end punctuation. They circle statements as a visual guide at home to separate the two types of utterances. Their practice of the sentences proceeds as follows:

   a) they "discover" which are statements or exclamations, as seen above.

   b) they read directly after the teacher. She frequently asks which kind of sentence it is, how they know--and encourages them to read the exclamations loudly, with feeling.

   c) they work in "small groups"--pairs of students reading the utterances to each other.

   d) they say the sentences individually, with the teacher remodeling the utterances or asking others to repeat after an individual.

   In other words, they are primed by direct reading--chorally after the teacher; they practice in small groups; and then perform individually.

4) Their homework is to practice the sentences at home and to be able to say them fluently and realistically the next day.

Suggested Discussion Questions:

1) Comment on the value of visualization to help students improve their pronunciation or intonation (e.g., hand gestures used, drawings on board, circling punctuation marks, diagrams of tongue-teeth positions, etc.). Is there a danger of over using such aids?

2) The teacher begins the drill with sentences with which the students are familiar but later goes to unfamiliar ones. Why is this sequence used? Could a drill like this be another overlearning experience for internalizing basic utterances in the language?

3) Discuss her use of "either/or" questions to guide students in discovering rules and in analyzing sentences. (e.g., does the important word come at the end of the sentence or at the start? Does your voice go up or down?) Could such techniques be used in eliciting a grammar rule or in checking vocabulary comprehension? Give some examples.

4) How does she encourage and motivate the students to speak up? Is this a necessary activity in your classes? Why?

5) What is the value of mentioning actual situations where the utterances or emotive quality might be needed?

6) Discuss small-group practice as an alternative to teacher whole-group work. Why would it be useful in your class? What must the teacher be careful to do BEFORE, DURING, and AFTER small-group work?

I.e. Before the small-group work: how does she prime the students? what directions must she give? should she divide the large group into pairs or let students choose their own partner?

During the small-group work: should she walk around the room? should she be making corrections? listening for representative errors?

After the small-group work: she must motivate the students to feel that progress should have occurred during the small-group work. what kinds of follow-up performance or checks on learning might be used? must all students be called on or just a representative sampling taken?

7) The teacher says, "What?" quite often during this lesson. Note some specific occurrences of this and analyze why she uses that cue. (Is she calling for students to note an error they have made? Does she just want them to repeat--on their own--without her re-asking her question? Is she trying to encourage them to speak up? Is it more like real communication than saying "Repeat that again?" In American society is "What?" a commonly used expression--either as a conversation filler or to show lack of comprehension or to request a restatement of an utterance?)

d. Grammar Lesson: Forming Questions with the Present Progressive Tense and Answering with "I/We," Videotape #6454 (25 min., color), Teacher: Ann Niedermeier.

The purpose of this lesson is, first, to teach students to ask questions. Very often in second-language learning, students only learn to answer questions and not to ask them. Since the present progressive tense is one that is often used in conversation, this activity drills it. A second goal of this lesson is to help students realize that a "you" question may be answered by "I" or by "we," depending on the context of the situation and the question. Familiar sentences, drawn from the dialogue and the Gouin series previously taught, are used so that students may more easily focus on the grammatical points.

Sentences

The sentences are a mix of those learned in the Gouin series, "Taking a Bus," and in the dialogue, "Asking for Directions."

I'm looking for the park. (library, school)

I'm asking for directions.

I'm waiting for the bus.

I'm paying my fare.

I'm reading the sign.

These sentences are also presented in the "we" form.

OUTLINE OF ACTIVITIES

1) Establishing recognitional grammar (making students aware of the pronoun/verb form to use in question).

   a) 440-475 Teacher reviews sentences in the "I" form which students repeat. Then she asks, "you" questions for them, calling on students to answer in the "I" form.

   b) 476-521 Using another student to stand in front of class with her, a similar procedure is followed to set the "you" question for "we" answers.

2) Establishing functional grammar (students practice using the new form).

   a) 522-525 Students repeat the "you" question form after the teacher.

   b) 526-585 Individual students get up to do actions, using visuals. Others ask "you" question for that action/visual.

3) Eliciting the rule.

   586-611 Students look at statements (in the "I" and "we" forms) on the board and make up questions to precede them. The two words, "are" and "you" are isolated as the question cues.

4) Reinforcement

   612-end Students are given homework sheet to fill out, making up questions. Their questions are first based on statements given them (which mix sentences directly from the drill with new ones) and then are open-ended--they make up any questions they would like to ask someone.

ANALYSIS OF INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES

Grammar lesson (TESOL children)

Question formation (using the present progressive--you questions for the I/we forms).

The teacher reviews a few sentences from the dialogue on asking directions. These sentences are all in the "I" form. Then she elicits from the students the form a question would take ("Ask me a question for that.") She isolates and emphasizes the first two words that are to occur in all the questions (are/you). Then she acts out and says a variety of "I" sentences, using props and sentences drawn from both the dialogue and Gouin series learned by the students. They give the "you" question, chorally and individually.

Then she asks a student to join her in doing the actions and they say the sentences in the "we" form. The other students ask questions for those sentences, repeating the "you" form previously used for "I" answers. The teacher calls their attention to the fact that the "you" question refers to both "I" and "we" answers. Finally, the students get up on their own to select visuals or do actions to suggest sentences; the other students ask a "you" question and the individual student answers it, varying "I" or "we" answers according to whether the teacher joins in or not.

Finally, the students get up and act out their own sentences (beyond those already practiced); the other students ask a "you" question which the individual student answers.

The teacher then tells them that they will have a homework sheet to do but that FIRST they are to look at examples on the board and make up questions for them. She has students practice the question formation with her, emphasizing the change in verb form (to: Are you) and the question mark at the end. Similar work is done with the first two examples on the homework sheet. That sheet includes several examples directly out of the drill, three or four different sentences, and an open-ended section where students make up their own questions without a "I" or "you" sentence to work from. The teacher goes over that section, noting that they just did a similar thing in class.

Suggested Discussion Questions:

1) What is the value of starting a grammar exercise with already learned sentences? Why does the teacher include new sentences later in the drill--and on the homework sheet?

2) Note the use of automatic pairs (T says, "When I say a sentence with 'I am...,' your question always starts with 'are you...'"). How does that speed up the drill and avoid errors? Is it boring or does it give students confidence?

3) Discuss correction of errors during a drill:

   a) Should a teacher correct pronunciation or grammar errors that are not the main focus of the drill? Pros and cons? Does this teacher correct such errors? If so, how? And why?

   b) How does the teacher get the students to self-correct (i.e., does she give indications that something is wrong--or cues on what needs correcting--so that students find and correct their own errors)? Are there other ways of training students to self-correct? Is this a valuable skill to develop?

   c) Discuss the use of "mouthing" answers to avoid errors--or signal for self-correction.

4) What gestures, visuals, personalizing does the teacher do to reinforce the meaning of the sentences? Is this necessary? Also--what does she do to establish the grammatical meaning of questions? To what extent should terminology be used?

5) Discuss the rewards this teacher uses: are they varied? sincere? appropriate?

6) Should homework use sentences directly out of a drill? Why or why not?

7) Discuss question 9 from first part of tape 6454.